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TIME

POLAND'S ORDEAL

The Darkness Descends

General Jaruzelski

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Reg: 8 mg "tar," 0.6 mg nicotine—Men: 7 mg "tar," 0.5 mg nicotine—100's Reg: 9 mg "tar," 0.7 mg nicotine—100's Men: 10 mg "tar," 0.8 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Mar.'81

MERIT

Kings & 100's

DECEMBER 28, 1981 Vol. 118 No. 27

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

When the military cracked down last week in Poland, TIME's team was on the inside, behind the wall of silence, pushing to get the story out. The night that a "state of war" was declared by the Polish government, Correspondents Richard Hornik and Gregory Wierzynski and Photographer Henri Bureau were already in Gdansk, covering what turned out to be the last meeting of the Solidarity union's national commission. Photographer David Burnett, on assignment for TIME, was in Warsaw. In the capital, at least at first, near normality reigned—sunshine, snow and only a few soldiers. "Getting the right picture to show the mood was extremely difficult," reported Burnett. "There wasn't an overwhelming military presence you could photograph. There was only a growing sense of doom."

ANTONIO SUAREZ

Hornik and Wierzynski in Gdansk

Until the story broke through the blackout, coverage of Polish events was dominated by TIME's Bonn bureau, which relied heavily on its network of contacts in Stockholm, Vienna and Eastern Europe to funnel in information. Bureau Chief Roland Flamini, having returned from Poland four days before the crackdown, had an advantage in evaluating the scene and the fragments of data seeping in. Flamini had visited Katowice, the mining center where many of last week's clashes occurred, talked with Polish Archbishop Jozef Glemp and shared a journey from Gdansk to Warsaw, and a cup of tea, with Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa. Says Flamini: "I calculate that at least half the people I talked to in Poland are now under arrest."

Photographer Bureau, also on assignment for TIME, became one of the first journalists to get out of Poland. To avert suspicion, he left all his camera equipment in Burnett's care and departed by train for West Berlin Monday night (*see* Press). With him went 30 precious rolls of his and Burnett's film. Burnett himself left by train two days later. Correspondent Wierzynski, who arrived in West Berlin by train at week's end, reports that "news gathering in Warsaw came down to finding Polish friends who might know something—an account from a person recently returned from another city or from a worker in one of the big plants outside town." A Polish-born American, Wierzynski says, "I left behind family and a country that only a few days ago was alive, blighted by penury, perhaps, but sustained by freedom and hope. Now the country is in shock and oppressed by the belief that worse is yet to come."

John a. Meyer

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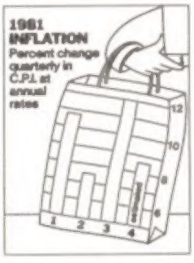

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Letters

Cats Meow

To the Editors:

Cats intrigue and exasperate us [Dec. 7] because they respond to life as if they were in control of their existences. They relax, eat, sleep, copulate and play only when they are moved, enjoying themselves with no guilt. I think we envy them.

Judy Andronici
Medford, N.J.

At the end of a hectic workday it's refreshing to come home to a cat whose only concerns are "feed me," "love me," and then "leave me alone." It is a good formula for humans as well.

Becky Roby
Louisville

One rainy night last month a half-grown stray moved into our house. Through the miracles of feline medicine, this new family member will likely be eating my plants, shinnying up my pants leg and sleeping on my face for the next 20 years. My parents didn't keep me that long!

C. Andrew Millard
Dallas, N.C.

Please, the Rex cat does not look like a rat. If you must liken this unique animal to another, the Rex should be known as the greyhound or whippet of catdom. With its curly, nonshedding coat the Rex is a cat that people with allergies can often keep.

Lee Jennings
Racine, Wis.

I never met a cat I didn't hate. It's not just that I dislike the moon-wailing, shrub-fouling, people-using critters. What gets me is they don't have to be licensed, while my house-confined mutt does!

Ed Krug
Old Bethpage, N.Y.

Your story contains not a word about how old folks feel about pets. Millions of us love our cats and dogs and are being deprived of their company when we need them most. The state of Massachusetts, for example, has a "no pets" clause in its Elderly Housing leases. In the town where I live, nearly all rented premises run ads with the admonition "No Pets."

Harry P. Knapp
Marblehead, Mass.

Since I am unable to hear, I have a hearing cat. She wakes me in the morning by gently patting me with her paw. She alerts me to unusual sounds like door knocks. When given love and the chance, cats and dogs are sensitive to their owners.

Lynn Dee
Chicago

I have studied my cat thoroughly, as he has me, and have concluded that cats have allowed themselves to be domesticated only because they can't open doors.

Robert L. Magee
Hammondsport, N.Y.

I took your cat picture and affixed it to my dart board. What would you do if your feline used the top of your waterbed as a scratching post?

Michael Rotstan
Pasadena, Calif.

Man of the Year?

With a major part of the free world following monetarist economic strategies, Milton Friedman should be a candidate. Thatcherism and Reaganomics have changed more people's lives than any other event this year.

Dennis S. Fulmer
Canton, Ohio

The *Columbia* space-shuttle team. Thanks to them, the future is unlimited.

Richard S. Russell
Madison, Wis.

French President Mitterrand.

Bernard Sinsheimer
Boulogne, France

David Stockman. The first to desert a sinking ship is the first to discover the ship is sinking.

Rae Cohn
Philadelphia

Scientists Who Cheat

Fudging data [Dec. 7] is unfortunately a distressing reality in science. Physicians depend greatly on medical science and its breakthroughs. It's scary to think my patient's health and life may depend on someone's egotistical falsification.

Joel S. Shoolin, D.O.
Wheeling, Ill.

Your article on the victimless crime of fudging data might have mentioned another kind of ethical lapse among men of science. It is routine for senior scientists to claim credit for the work of their junior colleagues. You may rightfully suspect any scientific researcher whose résumé contains an awesome list of publications. He is either a writer of trash, a genius or a scoundrel. And genius is in short supply.

Myron Robinson
Queensborough Community College
Bayside, N.Y.

Balancing Billions

The fight over the budget [Dec. 7] is not "a ridiculous squabble," "nightmare" or "an absolute disgrace." This battle is necessary and long overdue.

This is what $2 billion could buy in the hands of the American consumer: 29,806 one-family homes; 250,000 mid-size cars ($8,000 each); 716,845,880 lbs. of ground chuck ($2.79 per lb.); 16 million families' groceries for one week ($125 per week); 1,058,201,100 gal. of milk ($1.89 per gal.); 2.25 billion loaves of bread (whole wheat, 89¢ per loaf).

Michael J. Wald
Hackettstown, N.J.

Europe's Pacifism

What is needed in Europe is not nuclear disarmament [Nov. 30] but a massive public awareness campaign. The recent demonstrations portray the Soviets as the goodies and the Americans as the baddies. Europeans must be made to realize that the Soviets constitute the greatest danger to peace and stability in Western Europe. Soviet peace overtures are just what your article suggests: pieces of well-calculated rhetoric.

George Orban
Sydney

Unisex Education

The supporters of all-male colleges [Nov. 30] have missed a central point. They assume that young men fail to reach their potential in a co-ed classroom. Yet with women playing an increasingly important role in business and politics, it is essential for men to learn to work with us. Segregation of the sexes in education is not only inappropriate, it may be harmful to the professional training these all-male colleges purport to enhance.

Janice Mathews-Gordon
St. Louis

The three all-male colleges in Virginia you mention are segregated only in the eyes of their registrars. In the same neighborhood are several women's schools that have also not given in to the current vogue. Most of these institutions have had a course-and-credit-swapping arrangement for years and together form a large educational and social consortium.

Robert S. Keefe
Toronto

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TIME/DECEMBER 28, 1981

COVER STORIES

The Darkness Descends

Freedom is extinguished and a nation is held hostage by its own army

"Polish [is a] nationality [that is] not so much alive as surviving, which persists in thinking, breathing, speaking, hoping, and suffering in its grave, railed in by a million bayonets."

—Joseph Conrad, 1911

The silence of the bayonet fell on Poland last week. To a degree unprecedented in Europe since the end of World War II, a modern nation was sealed off from the outside world. In the icy cold of a savage winter, the country's telephone and telex lines were cut. What little news reached the West was smuggled out by travelers, or was broadcast over tightly censored Polish radio and television.

That news told an alarming story. At least seven people were killed in clashes with security forces, hundreds more were injured, as many as 50,000 were under arrest—and an entire nation of 36 million was being held virtually incommunicado by its own army. Every private telephone in the country was dead. Gas stations were closed to private cars. Flights were canceled. All travel, even within Poland, was banned. A 10 p.m.–to–6 a.m. curfew was in effect every night.

In Czechoslovakia 13 years earlier, communications had not been totally broken, so the world was able to watch and listen in horror as Soviet tanks rolled in to crush that country's brief flowering of freedom. This time, as the armed forces seized power in Poland, the Soviets were not visibly involved, at least not yet. But the Polish Communist government of General Wojciech Jaruzelski had taken a lesson from the Prague experience: the outside world would be given little chance to learn details of the takeover.

In the heady days of August 1980, the closed gate of the Lenin Shipyard in the Baltic port city of Gdansk became a symbol of the spirit of Solidarity, the newly formed independent trade union movement. It was here that Lech Walesa, the movement's leader, first made his demands for economic and social reform. Months later, when Solidarity swept the country, a monument was erected at the gate to commemorate both the birth of the union in 1980 and the 45 Poles killed in the food riots of 1970. Last week, shortly after the army and police had broken a strike by shipworkers protesting martial law and the arrest of hundreds of Solidarity's leaders, the gate was closed again. In the shadow of the three soaring steel pillars of the new monument now stood an armored personnel carrier, a symbol of the million bayonets that seem forever poised against a surging nationalism. Jaruzelski had announced that the country would henceforth be run by a 21-member junta, the "military council for national salvation." He declared a "state of war" (or state of emergency) under which the trade union movement was suspended and civil liberties were curtailed. His army moved fast and effectively.

Jaruzelski explaining his "state of war" to the Polish people

"We must come out of the crisis by ourselves."

The first to be detained were hundreds of Solidarity activists, and virtually first among the first was Lech Walesa. Police knocked at his door at 3 a.m. Sunday. He refused to allow them in, demanding the presence of Gdansk Party Secretary Tadeusz Fiszbach, a noted liberal for whom Walesa had respect. As soon as Fiszbach arrived, Walesa gave himself up. He was then taken to the airport and flown to Warsaw, where, according to a government spokesman, "he is being treated with all the respect due the head of Solidarity." Out of his own choice or the government's, not a word has been heard from him publicly since he was seized.

The immediate pretext for Jaruzelski's action was Solidarity's growing support for rash proposals amounting to heresy in a Communist state, including a call for a national referendum on whether the government should remain in power. The union had also set Dec. 17, eleventh anniversary of the Gdansk food riots, as a day of national protest. But the government's massive military operation had been in preparation for a long time. Deployment of troops had begun at least a fortnight earlier. When authorities published a list of 57 dissidents who had been "detained," it was plain that the list had been drawn up in advance: three people on it were out of the country. (Not on the list but determined to protest the "flagrant and brutal" crackdown and to express his "solidarity" with Walesa: Poland's Ambassador to the U.S., Romuald Spasowski, who sought and was swiftly granted asylum along with his wife, daughter and son-in-law.) Last week, after the sudden crackdown, a Gdansk doctor said he realized at last why so many extra beds had been placed in the local military hospital the week before.

Many Poles had been fearing a violent reaction to Solidarity's growing militancy. "Operation Birdcage" is what they called the anticipated crackdown, in which the union's freer spirits would presumably be caged. Even Walesa, upon learning the crackdown had begun, angrily told Solidarity leaders in Gdansk: "Now you've got what you've been looking for."

In Jaruzelski's view, there was little choice but to impose martial law; he had to bring a halt to Solidarity's increasing demands. If the government failed to do so, he could see no way to stave off the final collapse of Poland's mismanaged, strike-hobbled economy. At the same time, he had to reassure the Soviets, who, no matter how reluctant they might be to intervene directly in Polish affairs, let it be known that they would do so if Soli-

Communications had already been cut, and Polish troops were on the move as Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa registered dismay over the hard-liners' success at his union's final meeting in Gdansk. Below: On Thursday a crowd in Warsaw, trying to observe the anniversary of the 1970 food riots in Gdansk, confronted a cordon of Polish riot police.

HENRI BUREAU—SYGMA; PROFIL—GAMMA/LIAISON

Armored personnel carriers on Gdansk-Warsaw highway; Solidarity's Warsaw headquarters

Poland

darity was on the verge of seizing control of the state. Yet, by moving so forcefully against the union, whose 10 million members represent 28% of the Polish population, Jaruzelski could only have deepened the resentments that fueled Solidarity's growth and brought his country to the brink of civil war. Poland's Catholic bishops declared last week that "an entire nation" had been "terrorized by military force," and demanded the release of the Solidarity leaders. The army appeared loyal, but its ranks include large numbers of draftees who are sympathetic to Solidarity and sensitive to the country's problems. Only two months ago, just after Jaruzelski took over as Communist Party boss, Gdansk Party Secretary Fiszbach insisted to visiting TIME editors in Warsaw that a declaration of martial law was too dangerous even to contemplate. "I cannot imagine the aftereffects of such a course of events," he said. "Whoever even considers martial law does not take into account his responsibility for the destiny of the nation and the price that would have to be paid." In the weeks that followed, his colleagues evidently concluded that the price would have to be paid.

As Poland's week of darkness began, Jaruzelski set out to reassure his frightened countrymen. He spoke of law and order as his first objective, and he promised that the process of renewal that had marked the past 16 months would not be reversed. He insisted that Solidarity had merely been suspended, not abolished, and he declared that there would be "no return to the pre-August 1980 system of rule." To underscore that assertion, he ordered the detention of 32 members of the incompetent and scandal-ridden former regime, including deposed Communist Party Chief Edward Gierek. State television was filled with patriotic World War II films and other uplifting programming, such as an interview with a bemedaled old general who said he had known Jaruzelski since the Battle of Monte Cassino in World War II. (The man was mistaken: Jaruzelski fought in the Soviet army as it marched through Poland and on to Berlin. *See box.*) He sang the leader's praises and assured viewers that Jaruzelski was an honest soldier who did not have it in his nature to be a dictator.

Were the Polish people reassured? On the contrary, they were in shock and mourning. The queues at food shops, a familiar sight in contemporary Poland, had resumed. But the shoppers, their cheeks red from the deep cold (5° F in many places), were sullen. In the countryside, the only visible evidence of the nation's changed circumstances was the snow-muffled rumble of tanks and military trucks along the roads. But inside their houses, people were praying—and cursing. "I have lived through two wars," said a farmer north of Warsaw, "and now I am

on my third. Just let them come get my family or my land!" One elderly woman in Warsaw observed, "I thought from the beginning that the Russians would do this. They hate Poles. They cannot bear to give us a little bit of freedom, a little bit of what's our own. They will starve us." Her husband replied, "It's a generational thing. The young went too far. It had to finish this way. When you're young, you don't see the dangers. I fought in the Warsaw Uprising, but I don't know what I would have done if I had been an old man at the time."

Some Poles went into hiding, moving every night from one place to another. A university professor who lives with a woman in Warsaw was hiking six miles back and forth every day to his own unoccupied house on the outskirts of town to keep the snow shoveled from his sidewalk. "If I don't do it, they'll think I'm hiding, and so they will start looking for me." Intellectuals have been particularly hard hit, arrested by the thousands. Some 40 Warsaw scientists narrowly escaped the roundup when one of them managed to alert a network of taxi drivers known to be Solidarity members. The cabbies picked up the scientists at their homes, according to a prearranged plan, and drove them to hiding places. On the streets, friends talked to one another while looking over their shoulders for soldiers. In their homes, people once again began to panic when someone knocked on the door at night. "We are back to 1951," lamented one Pole. "It will take us 20 years to rebuild."

The ban on travel and communications imposed special hardships. Rumors flourished—that Archbishop Jozef Glemp, the Primate of Poland, had been arrested, that a top Solidarity leader had committed suicide—and could not be checked. Messages about sicknesses and funerals could not be sent. "I will die now," said a woman in Warsaw matter-of-factly. She had been scheduled for brain surgery in the U.S. this week, and now could not leave. At her side, her doctor sadly agreed. Because of the curfew, nurses and doctors could keep their hospitals open 24 hours a day only by taking up residence inside. Said one doctor: "This is worse than the German occupation. At least then we had telephones."

Partly because of the prevailing uncertainty and partly because of the communications blackout, public response to the crackdown seemed muted. The population was depressed and weary from the crises that had beset the country in recent months. Poles were also disillusioned by the disunity within Solidarity, traumatized by the newly imposed military rule, anxious over the lingering possibility of Soviet intervention and fearful for the fate of their national hero, Lech Walesa.

The government said that Walesa was not under arrest and was being well treated. It was widely believed he was in detention in a government guesthouse in

At Warsaw's Stanislaw Kostka Church, stunned worshipers listen to priest's words of comfort

Workers gather Thursday at Gdansk shipyards. Banner carries John Paul II quotation on Polish independence

Chylice, just south of Warsaw. The government spread stories that he was broken psychologically and weeping uncontrollably; Solidarity passed the word that he was "psychologically strong." One reason the government flew Walesa to Warsaw was to have him discuss the emergency with government officials. Reportedly, he refused to negotiate, on the grounds that he could not do so as long as his advisers were not at his side. On Monday he was visited by a church representative, Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, who brought him a change of clothes. According to Solidarity, Walesa told Dabrowski that workers should avoid strikes, should use only nonviolent methods of protest and should "not allow the spirit of the nation to be crushed." Archbishop Glemp was said to have refused a request to meet with Jaruzelski unless Walesa was also present.

From underground, Solidarity called for a general strike. There was none, though it was known from the beginning that there were pockets of protest and resistance. As the shock of the crackdown began to ease, it became apparent that there were strikes and sit-ins throughout the country and that the government was determined to stamp them out before they spread. To the chant of "Fascists! Fascists!" from an angry crowd, soldiers removed a group of professors and students from the Polish Institute of Science. Gray-uniformed police entered the Church of the Holy Cross, where Frédéric Chopin's heart is buried, and confiscated antigovernment posters and leaflets. As they removed a picture of the late leader of the Polish church, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the taunts of spectators appeared to embarrass the soldiers.

On Monday and Tuesday nights, taking advantage of the prevailing curfew, military authorities broke up strikes at three big industrial plants in Warsaw. Some 60 armored cars carrying troops and riot police armed with fixed bayonets and tear gas entered the grounds of the huge Urus tractor factory, shooting into the air and quickly ending an occupation of the plant by workers. The next target was the Huta Warszawa steel mill, which had been occupied by 7,000 workers. On Tuesday the assembled throng had issued a statement demanding an end to martial law. "We are workers," the group declared. "We shall never be slaves." The document, signed only by "the strike committee," ended with the opening words of the national anthem: "Poland is not yet lost." That night the steelworkers got their answer. Troops stormed the plant, arrested a score of union leaders and told the rest of the hungry and frightened workers to go home.

A sit-in was also under way at the famous Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, the birthplace of Solidarity. On Tuesday night a few friendly soldiers had shared coal fires with some of the workers, trying to stay warm in the bitter Baltic winter. But early the next day, special armored units and elite Red Beret forces arrived to seize the plant. As six helicopters circled overhead, troops attacked the occupied buildings. They met with only passive resistance from the workers inside. A crowd of spectators was kept to a distance of 500 yards and tear gas was sprayed in the area. At one point leaflets fluttered down from a window somewhere overhead, declaring: "If we give up, we shall bury our hopes for freedom for many years to come. Several thousand people cannot destroy 10 million."

By Thursday, the anniversary day that Solidarity had set for a national protest, Warsaw was generally calm, but military forces were again seen everywhere. Helmeted police using shields and batons dispersed crowds that gathered in Warsaw's Old Town and on the steps of the Church of the Holy Cross to talk and to sing the national anthem. By 7 p.m. the streets were empty. That night, in its first admission of casualties, Warsaw radio reported in somber tones that seven Poles had been killed and hundreds wounded in a clash between miners, fighting with picks and axes, and troops at a coal mine near Katowice, in southern Poland. In

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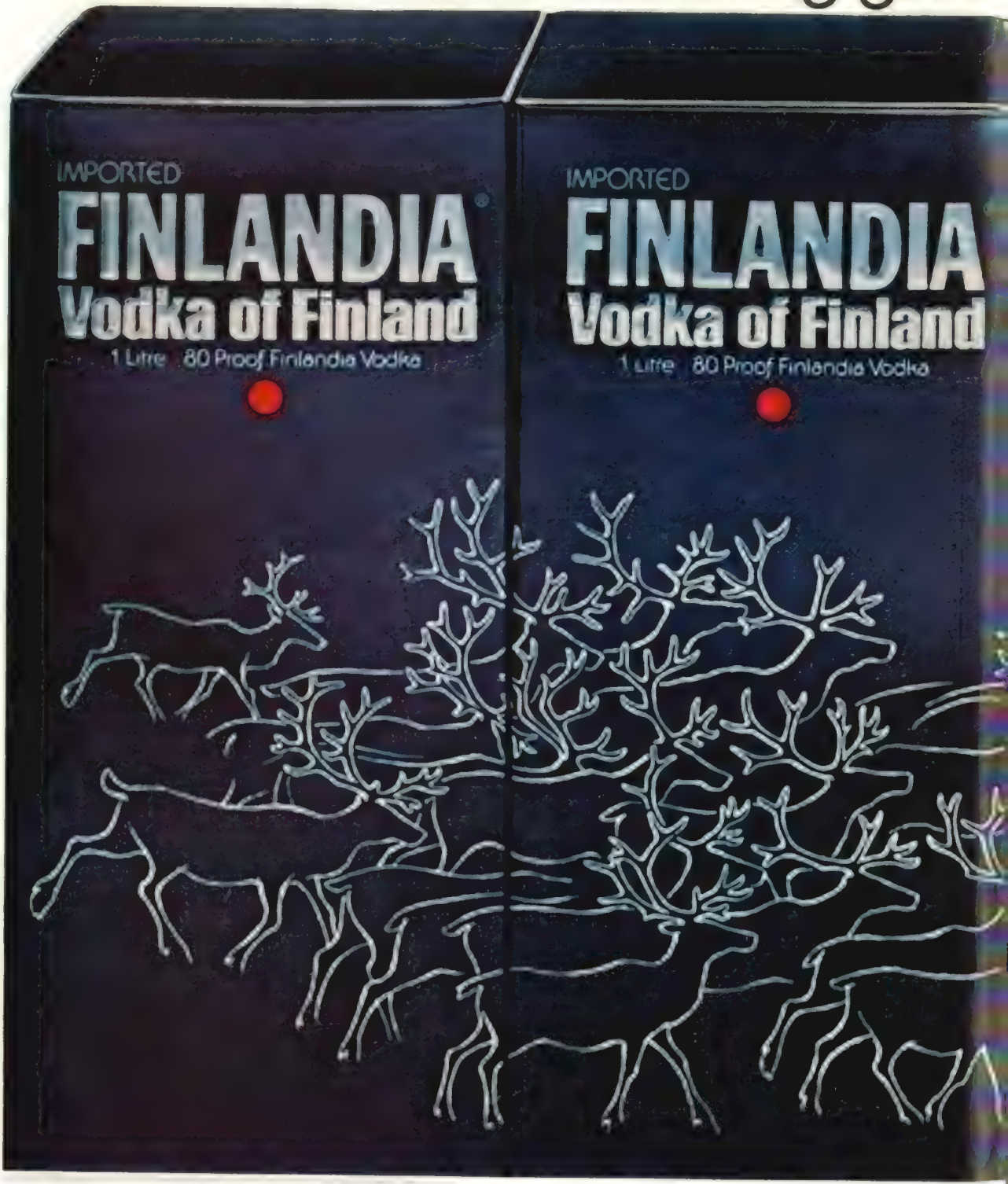

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addition, it acknowledged, 160 militiamen and 164 civilians had been injured during continuing disturbances in Gdansk.

In the first days after the military takeover, Poles were surprised to find grocery shelves stocked with certain items, such as smoked fish and tomato juice, that had scarcely been seen for six months. "Where has it all been?" asked a woman shopper in Warsaw. A clue to that mystery was supplied by a Dutch truck driver, who had taken part in a 150-vehicle convoy to deliver donated food from Western Europe. He was directed to a Polish warehouse that he said contained "more butter than I've seen in my entire life." Poles generally welcomed the government's sudden bounty, which disappeared in a flash in widespread hoarding, but many considered the new supplies a cynical effort to win support.

In the meantime, Jaruzelski's efforts to impose authority were welcomed with restrained enthusiasm by the Soviet Union. According to some Polish government sources, Jaruzelski was pressed by the Soviets to make the move. About a month ago, according to these accounts, he was given an ultimatum by the Kremlin. Soviet representatives told him—and him alone—that the Polish party was no longer in control, that the Sejm (parliament) was running wild, and that if he did not act to restore order, the Warsaw Pact would do it for him. Though Jaruzelski emphasized last week that Poland remained a sovereign state, many people regarded the crackdown as a Soviet invasion by proxy. On Tuesday, some 30 ranking Soviet officers were observed disembarking from a military plane. Nonetheless, insofar as Western journalists could tell, the two Soviet armored divisions based in Poland were not involved and remained in their garrisons.

Indeed, some Western diplomats believe Jaruzelski acted strictly on his own when he declared martial law. The reasoning: Jaruzelski anticipated a strong Soviet reaction if he did not move decisively against Solidarity's increasing demands. In this view, Jaruzelski is essentially a Polish nationalist still striving to achieve a historic compromise acceptable to the moderates in Solidarity, the liberals in the Politburo, the church and the army.

In any case, the declaration of martial law neatly fitted Moscow's immediate needs. On the one hand, the Soviets have been alarmed at the dramatic rise of Solidarity and at the aspirations of freedom that it has encouraged. On the other, they have no wish to intervene themselves, lest this cause trouble elsewhere in Eastern Europe, alienate the governments and Communist parties of Western Europe, break the Soviet-U.S. arms negotiations, and lead to a cancellation of Western trade. They are well aware, for example, that the multibillion-dollar natural gas

Tanks Amid the Eerie Calm

As the leaders of Solidarity gathered in Gdansk for their final, fateful meeting before the crackdown, TIME *Correspondent Gregory H. Wierzynski was with them. He was scheduled to spend the entire next day with Lech Walesa and his family, an interview that never took place. After scouring Gdansk for details of the mass arrests and strikes, Wierzynski drove to Warsaw, into a setting of total censorship. It was five days after the military takeover that Wierzynski was able to make his way to West Berlin, from where he sent his reports. Among them was this personal look at Poland under siege:*

Ironically, the day martial law was imposed in Poland and fear, pain and grief descended upon the country, the sun rose with unusual clarity and brilliance, following two bleak weeks of gray skies and snow. In Gdansk, where Polish hopes for freedom had begun and had now terminated overnight, all that could be seen of the roundup of Solidarity's leadership were riot police encircling the union headquarters.

On the road to Warsaw, I encountered Poland at its most beautiful—a perfect wintry landscape of rolling plains and snow-covered forests. I also encountered military vehicles—trucks, armored personnel carriers, light tanks and some light artillery—all heading south to Warsaw. The militiamen at checkpoints fingered newly issued machine pistols.

On the second day of martial law, the capital exuded an eerie calm. Shoppers were out early, as usual, queueing up at bakeries, butcher shops and vegetable stands, where few goods were available, also as usual. A Solidarity banner, evidently neglected by police, continued to hang bravely from a building on Paris Commune Place. Young mothers dropped off their children at nursery schools—the only educational institutions left open in all of Poland.

City sounds were muffled. The normally clogged streets were empty save for military and police vehicles. A few cabs were in circulation, but a number of them were occupied by secret police agents who had requisitioned them. Service stations, where drivers sometimes wait for 24 hours to tank up, had plenty of gasoline but, because sales were banned, no customers. Other public transportation was running normally, though the red-and-white buses and trams, caked with mud, dirt and ice, looked like sardine cans on wheels.

BURGETT—CONTACT

Soldiers checking motorists' papers in Warsaw

By midweek the presence of troops in the capital had increased appreciably. There was more of everything: patrols, soldiers with fixed bayonets, armored cars and a few tanks. I spotted a Soviet patrol car and several uniformed Soviet soldiers casually strolling in the center of the city. One man told me he had seen about 30 high-ranking Russian officers leaving a Soviet Air Force plane at Warsaw airport.

Most people were making an attempt to go to work. A foreign trade official told me, "It's too dangerous not to show up." But there was not much work to be done. With the telephones dead, virtually all businesses had come to a standstill. Owners of small private concerns, like carpentry shops, watch-repair shops and greengrocers, were in a panic. When their cars ran out of gas, they would be unable to get supplies and would have to shut down.

The strange and oppressive atmosphere was accentuated by the extreme cold. A small demonstration outside Solidarity's regional headquarters had been quickly dispersed by police manning a water cannon, a particularly effective weapon in below-zero weather. But the oppressors were as cold as the oppressed. In parts of the city, soldiers stood around small kerosene fires, stomping on the ground and rubbing their hands.

One bystander asked a soldier on guard at Warsaw University: "Why are you here?" His reply: "I don't really know. They never told us." The soldier was asked whether he would shoot civilians if so ordered. He shrugged and his face turned red.

pipeline deal they signed with West Germany this fall probably could not survive a Soviet invasion of Poland.

Last week the Soviet government quickly supplied Poland with badly needed food, though the Kremlin refrained from telling its own people of the action. Soviet citizens are anticipating their third disastrous harvest in a row and might respond ungraciously to news that Poland, which they consider to have overstepped the bounds of socialism, is almost literally being given bread from Soviet mouths. As one Soviet worker groused: "We send them our meat, we send them our oil, and all they want is more."

In the conventional view, Moscow will intervene in Poland only in the event of a general breakdown of law-and-order, or of a direct threat to the Warsaw Pact. If they should ever do so, in the opinion of Colonel Jonathan Alford of London's Institute for Strategic Studies, the intervention would be carried out "with a very great margin of superiority." His estimate is that the Soviets would bring in as many as 35 divisions, with around 500,000 men. But Alford believes the Soviet high command has counseled caution over Poland. One reason: even on so crushing a scale, the military is rarely able to produce a political solution.

One of the anomalies of the situation in Poland is that the crackdown was a purely military operation. Jaruzelski is the leader of the Polish Communist Party as well as the armed forces and the government, but in his speech to the nation last week he chose to call himself "a soldier and chief of government." There was no mention of the Communist Party. Politburo members were reportedly not told that martial law was being declared until two hours before the troops began to move. The Polish party is deeply demoralized after losing an estimated one-third of its 3 million members during the past year. It is distressing to the entire Communist world for a country's armed forces to become more powerful than its Politburo. That is a contradiction of Karl Marx's warning to avoid such "bonapartism" by ensuring that the party be always supreme. Thus the rebuilding of the party, and how strong he chooses to make it, is one of the interesting tasks facing Jaruzelski.

Once again, as in previous crises in Eastern Europe, the U.S. and its allies found that their power to influence events was sorely limited *(see following story)*. President Reagan roundly criticized the Polish military takeover and declared that Solidarity was being suppressed with "the full knowledge and support of the Soviet Union." The U.S. announced that it would withhold $100 million of food aid, and refused to consider another $640 million worth of food requested by Poland unless the Warsaw regime eased its military rule. But Washington could do little else.

Jaruzelski's Law

What is martial law in Poland? By week's end the Polish people faced more than 20 separate orders, some predictable, some startling. Among them:

- Basic civil rights, in particular those pertaining to personal liberty (freedom of speech, press, assembly, and means of communication), are temporarily suspended
- All public gatherings, including demonstrations, strikes, sports and artistic events, are banned. Exception: religious services inside churches. A curfew from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. is imposed.
- Distribution of any publications and the use of any kind of printing equipment, including office copying machines, are banned without prior government approval.
- Mail, telephone conversations and other forms of communication are subject to censorship. Telephone and telex services are temporarily suspended.
- Radio and television broadcasts are to be restricted to one station and channel. Programming will be supervised by government-assigned teams. All broadcasting is to be done from Warsaw; regional broadcasting is suspended.
- Polish citizens must carry their identity cards at all times. Poles are prohibited from leaving their place of residence for more than 48 hours without permission.
- The sale of gasoline to private motorists is forbidden. The sale of alcoholic beverages is halted. (The military later changed its mind.) Movies, theaters, nightclubs and discotheques are shut down. Except for nursery schools, all educational institutions, including universities, are closed for an indefinite time.
- Poland's frontiers are sealed to all private traffic. Polish airspace is closed to international and domestic commercial flights.
- Summary proceedings will be undertaken against citizens violating martial law. Poles over the age of 17 may be interned at isolation centers if their past behavior gives rise to suspicion that they will disobey martial law or engage in activity that threatens the "interest, security and defense of the state."
- Members of the military, police, fire and civil defense services, as well as thousands of workers newly "militarized" to deter them from striking, will be subject to penalties, including death, applied to soldiers on active service in time of war. The armed forces are authorized to use "coercion to restore calm, law-and-order."

U.S. and Western European bankers were directly involved, however, in a Polish effort to stave off bankruptcy. Poland owes foreign banks and governments a total of $26 billion, the largest external debt of any East bloc country. The funds were borrowed in the last decade to finance a crash industrialization program and to import food. Last week Poland's foreign trade bank appealed to 23 leading Western banks for an emergency loan of $350 million to pay part of the $500 million in interest that is due this year. If the deadline is missed, banks could declare Poland in default, but that would seriously weaken some of the creditor banks and help tighten credit around the world. The bankers were not sure what to do, and any action would be painful. "After all," said a banker in West Germany, which is holding $4.5 billion in Polish loans, "you cannot liquidate a country and distribute its assets."

In Italy, France and elsewhere, thousands of demonstrators turned out to protest against Jaruzelski's declaration of martial law. Pope John Paul II declared, "The church has received with grief the news of the breaking off of the dialogue," and asked both sides to try again to find a solution. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who had been visiting East Germany at the time of the Polish crackdown, emphasized Bonn's policy of "noninterference." Later he told the Bundestag, "We Germans should not set ourselves up as judges over the Poles." At least, he added, "not yet." The British government tended to be critical of the Solidarity leadership for overreaching, and to be sympathetic to Jaruzelski's need to avoid Soviet intervention. French President François Mitterrand took a stronger line, asserting that "the loss of public and individual liberties is in every case to be condemned."

By the weekend the situation in Poland was getting ever more strained. In Silesia, an unknown number of miners were said to be occupying their mine shafts, and threatening to blow up the mines if the security forces should try to remove them. There were unconfirmed reports that ten striking miners had been clubbed to death and 56 shot dead in bitter fighting. In Gdansk, the clashes between shipyard workers and the authorities continued. Throughout the country there were reports of "Italian strikes," in which employees show up at their jobs but only pretend to work.

A plea for calm was issued by the government in Walesa's name, but few Poles seemed to believe that he had authorized it. Informal cells of worried activists were forming in the capital. One such group was operating out of a bakery in downtown Warsaw. If any of the cell's dozen members failed to show up at least once every three days, the sales clerk was to alert one member, who would pass the word along.

A General's Toughness, a Politician's Mind

Before he became Poland's Premier last February, General Wojciech Witold Jaruzelski was little known and seldom seen by his fellow countrymen. During the past ten months, he has consolidated his hold on the military, taken control of the government and the Communist Party, and, finally, imposed rigid martial law. But however frequently he may now appear in the official press, Jaruzelski remains an enigma, a figure as shaded as the tinted glasses he often wears because of a chronic eye inflammation.

For the leader of a Communist state, Jaruzelski has a strikingly unproletarian background. He was born in 1923 into a family of landed gentry in the eastern Polish town of Kurow. His father is thought to have been an officer in the Polish cavalry. The man apparently hoped that his son would also serve his country, since young Wojciech was sent to a Jesuit boarding school famed for training Poland's future elite. The outbreak of World War II altered the family's expectations. Official biographers note that Jaruzelski, at 16, somehow "found himself on the territory of the U.S.S.R.," a tactful reference to the mass deportation of Poles to the Soviet Union following the Red Army's invasion of eastern Poland in 1939. According to some, his family perished in Stalinist labor camps. Jaruzelski himself toiled, as a teen-ager, in the coal mines of remote Karaganda in Soviet Kazakhstan.

With little left to connect him to his conservative Catholic past, Jaruzelski decided that Communism was the wave of the future, at least had to be the wave of his future. In 1943 he entered a Soviet officers' candidate school set up for Poles in Ryazan, southeast of Moscow. While serving as an officer in the Polish Second Infantry, Jaruzelski waited with Soviet battalions across the Vistula River from Warsaw in 1944 as the Nazis slaughtered the non-Communist underground and leveled the city. He joined in the liberation of the Polish capital in January 1945, and fought on to the Oder and the Elbe rivers in the Soviet drive to take Berlin.

SYGMA

General Jaruzelski making his first speech as party leader in October

Jaruzelski helped to establish the new regime in Poland by taking part in a mop-up offensive against the "forest bands," anti-Communist Polish partisans who refused to surrender their weapons at the end of the war. He served with enough distinction to merit further military training, and graduated with honors from Warsaw's General Staff Higher War College. When Polish Party Leader Wladyslaw Gomulka launched a purge of the military establishment in 1956, Jaruzelski became, at 33, the youngest general in the Polish army. By 1957, he commanded a motorized division. Eight years later he was appointed chief of the general staff.

Jaruzelski's rapid rise in the military was paralleled by promotions within the Polish Communist Party. In 1960 he became chief political commissar for the army and four years later took a seat on the party's Central Committee. In 1968 he became Minister of National Defense. He set about remaking the army in his own image, fashioning a corps of dedicated Communists and Polish patriots who were also well-trained professional soldiers. The result: a Polish military establishment increasingly independent of the quarrelsome Communist Party leadership.

In 1970, Jaruzelski was placed under house arrest when he refused to use massive force in suppressing worker riots on the Baltic seacoast. After an emergency party plenum that year selected Edward Gierek as new First Secretary, Jaruzelski was chosen as an alternate member of the Politburo. He was given full status in 1971. In 1976 he faced down Gierek when workers took to the streets in Radom. It was then he reportedly issued his famous—and now ironic—dictum: "Polish troops will not fire on Polish workers." As the military man who has remained remote from party feuding, he came to be seen as the party's last hope in Poland's present period of unrest.

Dour, aloof and erect as a ramrod—a back ailment requiring him to wear a corset makes his military posture a necessity—Jaruzelski is less than charismatic in public appearances, even when dressed in his uniform tunic adorned with eleven rows of military decorations. He rarely engages in banter, does not make spur-of-the-moment statements, and when in a public forum prefers to read carefully prepared texts. But for all his stiffness, he is as much a politician as a general. In explaining the Polish crisis to Americans before the crackdown, he contrasted his government's "moderate" handling of recalcitrant workers with the Reagan Administration's treatment of the striking U.S. air-traffic controllers, and likened troubles with Solidarity to the U.S. Government's difficulties with Viet Nam War–era protesters. Says a British diplomat: "Beneath that bemedaled general's tunic beats a very clever politician's heart."

Compared with his lackluster predecessor, Stanislaw Kania, as party boss, Jaruzelski has proved a master of the sweeping gesture. Only days after he took office as Premier last winter, he made a surprise visit to a Warsaw supermarket. When an irate shopper apologized for shouting at him because of the long lines and near empty shelves, Jaruzelski replied: "Don't worry. I didn't come here to be applauded." After he took the post of Communist Party First Secretary in October, he dispatched military units to provincial cities and towns to monitor food and coal distribution and report instances of official corruption.

As Jaruzelski appealed to the nation on television early last week—the patriotic symbols of flag and eagle displayed prominently behind him, the Polish national anthem preceding his address—he was clearly hoping that his standing as a soldier unsullied by Communist Party politics would rally Poles around him. But many doubts remained about this scion of a conservative, landowning family turned Communist Party chief. Said a West German specialist in Eastern European affairs: "I can think of situations where the population would prefer a strong military regime to a strong Communist regime. Jaruzelski represents both, but right now the quality of his Communism remains in the background." In the foreground is his decision to use his army to rule Poland. *—By John Kohan. Reported by D.L. Coutu/Bonn and Frank Melville/London*

Our case for sex discrimination.

Sex no longer determines who, if anyone, wears the pants. So why, a lot of you are demanding, should it determine insurance rates?

Consider the nearly double crack-up rate of male drivers 25

and under versus female drivers 25 and under.

Suppose we at Ætna Life & Casualty ignored this statistical reality. Sister Sue would pay 40% more for auto insurance so Brother Bob could pay 20% less. Unfair![1]

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Accusations of Neanderthalism aside, Ætna simply isn't going to toss out cost differences based on criteria like sex and age when the results would be inequitable.[2]

But we *do* have squads of experts studying the impact of changing life patterns on auto, life, and other insurance.[3] And ongoing analysis has already eliminated some risk criteria and instituted others, including *factors you control personally.*

Example: We give young driver-training graduates an average 12.3% discount.[4] And we now reduce individual life premiums for non-smokers.

That's fairer, we think, than changes that would make insurance *less* affordable for a lot of us — men and women alike.

Ætna wants insurance to be affordable.

[1]According to an Ætna study of auto insurance made in 1979, people generally warmed to the idea of equal rates for different groups. But when they were informed of the effect on their pocketbooks, the majority turned thumbs down.

[2]We admit it can be rankling to be treated as a statistic. But the whole idea of insurance is the pooling of risk among groups of individuals. Those groups are defined by the loss experience of up to millions of cases, and are charged accordingly – what we in insurance call "cost-based pricing."

[3]At last count, we had some 135 people looking into how risk can be measured in life, casualty, property and group insurance.

[4]Ætna also charges less to accident-free drivers, for cars less prone to damage or theft, and for homes equipped with burglar and fire alarms. We think *positive incentives* make more sense than experimental policies that turn their backs on actual experience.

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There was no way of estimating how much further the government planned to carry its crackdown. Late in the week some foreigners were allowed to fly out of the country, and there was at least one vague sign that Poles themselves might some day be permitted to leave: the government's new currency regulations introduced a limit ($300) on the amount of money citizens could take with them on foreign trips. In addition, the sale of alcoholic beverages was resumed after a week of prohibition. Many factories remained closed. So did the universities and any other institutions that might prove troublesome. Even PAX, the pro-government organization of Catholic laymen, was dissolved. Observed an American diplomat of Poland's military rulers: "They have pulled it off with stunning efficiency. But there is an irony here. What they have succeeded in doing is to shut Poland down, to bring it to a halt. The real challenge is just the opposite, to get the country moving again. And, as a result of what has happened, this will now be harder than ever to accomplish."

The hopeful view was that the military might yet manage to restore order without heavy bloodshed and then, after a period of easing tensions, try to reach a new understanding between the government and Solidarity. The church, a powerful and respected force in a nation that is more than 90% Catholic, would have to serve a mediating role. Jaruzelski might succeed with such a plan if he could somehow convince his countrymen that his real goal is one of national reconciliation and that his moves staved off a worse fate, namely a Soviet invasion. The drift last week, however, was in the direction of rising chaos, and the government appeared to be deeply concerned. When Warsaw radio first announced the casualties at Katowice, it described the killing of Poles by Poles in words of anguish. "Let us lower our heads in silence to honor the victims of yet another Polish tragedy," declared the announcer. "Let the bloodshed in Silesia cause the provocateurs to sober up and make the madmen realize that the road to confrontation leads nowhere." Some diplomats in Warsaw were convinced that those words had been written by Jaruzelski himself out of an obvious worry that his unseasoned young army might lose control of the situation. As Poles faced their bleakest Christmas since World War II, a dreadful stillness settled across the land. The days seemed colder, the nights darker, the streets emptier. The quiet was broken only occasionally, most often by the rumble of armored personnel carriers. But every so often, as it has for centuries, a familiar anthem would rise from some church, apartment building or worker's cottage: "Poland is not yet lost . . ." —*By William E. Smith. Reported by Roland Flamini/Bonn and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Warsaw with other bureaus*

Speak Firmly, Carry a Little Stick

Lacking leverage, the Administration pursues caution and calm

"At this point, the question is how you do nothing, not whether you do anything."

That wry comment from a Reagan Administration official summed up all too well the initial U.S. response to the imposition of martial law in Poland. Secretary of State Alexander Haig admitted that the Administration was "surprised" by the crackdown. Other officials insisted that he referred only to the timing rather than the fact of the move. Nonetheless, Washington had apparently focused its planning on the contingency that has not yet happened. The U.S. and its European allies long ago had agreed to invoke stern diplomatic and economic sanctions if Poland were invaded by the Soviet army. But there was no comparable list of actions to take in response to a crackdown by Polish authorities on the Solidarity movement. Reason: U.S. officials had concluded that nothing they might do would have any practical effect.

Hampered initially by a maddening lack of reliable information as to exactly what was happening inside Poland, and worried lest too strident a reaction might yet give the Soviets an excuse for an outright takeover, Washington decided from the start that its responses would indeed be primarily words. Through the early days, Haig and other officials confined themselves to restrained expressions of "concern" and cautiously voiced hopes that the martial law crackdown would only be "a temporary retrogression, not a change in the overall historic trend toward reform" in Poland. As one top diplomat explained: "We want to tread the fine line between taking positions that would incite violence and bloodshed and perhaps [Soviet] intervention on the one hand, and avoid positions which would acquiesce in the repression of Polish reform on the other."

As news from Poland indicated that the military regime was successfully breaking resistance, critics across the political spectrum accused the Administration of looking the other way while freedom was being smashed in Poland. From the right, outraged New York *Times* Columnist William Safire charged the Administration with "helpless tut-tutting" and said Reagan and his aides had been guilty of "moral paralysis." From the left, Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts denounced "some who say we cannot take a firm stand on Poland because that will offend the Soviets."

The White House, at minimum, had to make clear its anger, and Ronald Reagan assigned himself the task of sharpening the rhetoric. After telephoning Polish-born Pope John Paul II to voice his concern and conferring with Vatican Secretary of State Agostino Cardinal Casaroli, the President opened his sixth news conference Thursday with a strongly worded statement. He condemned "the increasing use of force against an unarmed population" and said "coercion and violation of human rights on a massive scale . . . is in gross violation of the Helsinki pact [signed in 1975] to which Poland is a signatory." He pinned the blame on the U.S.S.R.: "It would be naive to think this could happen without the full knowledge and the support of the Soviet Union—and we're not

Reagan conferring with Cardinal Casaroli, Vatican Secretary of State, in the Oval Office

The fine line: inciting violence and bloodshed, or acquiescing to repression.

naive." The President, however, turned aside four separate questions on just what the U.S. might do. "The area of initiatives and options," he said, was something "I just don't feel that I can discuss." The President had good reason for not discoursing on U.S. options: in the view of most of his aides, there is little the U.S. can do.

The two steps that the Administration did take were largely symbolic. It restricted the movements of diplomats at the Polish embassy in Washington and the consulates in New York City and Chicago to those cities; Soviet diplomats are the only others who are not free to roam throughout the country. The move was in retaliation for the ringing of the U.S. embassy in Warsaw and consulates in Cracow and Poznan by Polish police.

More important, Washington held up $100 million in emergency food aid to Poland, only three days after President Reagan had tentatively approved the shipments. Before the imposition of martial law, the State Department had argued passionately that the assistance was necessary to prevent riots and bloodshed that might have been sparked by food shortages in Poland this winter. Polish Ambassador to the U.S. Romuald Spasowski vainly pleaded last week for the food to be released. Said the ambassador: "It is essential for the Polish people to receive this help. It is very, very bad there."

American officials were unmoved. Food aid was almost the only lever they had to pull—and there were reports that General Wojciech Jaruzelski was using food as a political weapon, hoarding it in government stockpiles and suddenly releasing it to stores to give the impression that the military takeover was bringing benefits to the Polish people. Washington will let food shipments from private charitable organizations go through, but Reagan indicated little hope that the U.S. will approve the rest of the $740 million in official food aid that Poland has requested for next year. Said the President at his news conference: "Certainly it will be impossible for us to continue trying to help Poland solve its economic problems while martial law is imposed on the people of Poland."

What else might the U.S. do? On one thing, the President and his aides were agreed: there will be no military response, even to an outright Soviet invasion. Said a senior Reagan adviser flatly: "There is no military option." He went on to list other possible steps: "We could cut off economic assistance altogether, we could restrict travel and passports to Poland, we could ban exports to Poland and/or the Soviet Union, and we could try to arrange an economic boycott of the Soviets with our allies."

The trouble is that all of these steps are likely to prove ineffective. The European allies may not cooperate unless the Soviet Union intervenes directly, and unilateral U.S. pressure on Poland will not weigh heavily against the Soviet demand that Jaruzelski smash Solidarity or else. In fact, sanctions might provoke exactly the Soviet intervention that the U.S. wants above all to avert.

Poland, the U.S. and its allies agreed as long ago as December 1980 on what would be done. The list of sanctions, officially secret, is known to include a rupture of most diplomatic relations, an embargo on trade and possibly a suspension of U.S.-Soviet arms reduction talks.

In its first week of truly global crisis, the Administration prided itself on keeping calm and presenting a unified front: for a change, there were no conflicting statements, no hasty "clarifications." Vice President George Bush played an unusually important role. He headed a Special Situation Group composed of the Secretaries of State and Defense, CIA Director William Casey, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman General David C. Jones, Acting National Security Adviser James Nance, and the White House troika of Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese, Chief of Staff James Baker and Deputy Chief of Staff Michael Deaver.

In effect, the SSG was Bush's old crisis-management team, renamed by Reagan to avoid the use of the word crisis. The group coordinated intelligence reports flowing in from Poland and, under Bush's direction, decided on a low-key approach. The National Security Council staff apparently functioned effectively without its furloughed leader, Richard Allen. Some White House aides went so far as to say privately that the staff was actually doing better under Allen's deputy and interim successor Nance, who took a generally hard anti-Soviet line in SSG discussions.

For all the complaints against the Administration's passive stance, caution and calm were clearly the right responses to a situation that the U.S. could not change, at least for now. But while American leverage, unhappily, was limited, the Administration has yet to prove that it knows how to use effectively what clout it has.

—By George J. Church.

Reported by Douglas Brew and Johanna McGeary/Washington

Polish Americans in Chicago, part of a politically influential community, demonstrating in support of Solidarity and against martial law

Shouts of "traitor" and "Russian spy," and a deep feeling that American sanctions might be aimed at the wrong enemy.

The huge and politically influential Polish American community (there are an estimated 12 million Americans of Polish descent) appears to believe that any U.S. sanctions should be imposed against the Soviet Union rather than Poland. At rallies across the country and demonstrations in front of the Polish consulates in New York and Chicago, ethnic Poles sang Polish hymns, burned Soviet flags and shouted denunciations of Jaruzelski as a "traitor" and "Russian spy." After a mass rally at Daley Center in Chicago, attended by Illinois Governor James Thompson and Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne, Alderman Roman Pucinski said: "We're punishing the wrong people. We should be cutting out wheat to Russia."

If the Soviet Union ever does invade

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There's only one way

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to play it...
KOOL
Filter Kings
Wherever the music is hot,
the taste is Kool. Because there's
only one sensation this refreshing.
per cigarette, FTC Report May '81

America's Fretful Mood

Worries over the economy and nuclear war dominate a TIME *poll*

Nearly a year after he took office, the nation over which Ronald Reagan presides is in a gloomy mood. Americans are worried about the state of their country, anxious about inflation, which they do not expect to ease soon, and feeling the pinch of a recession they fear may linger for a year or more.

Perhaps even more important, and surprising, 63% of the Americans surveyed say they see a real chance that a nuclear war will break out somewhere in the world in the next five years. Because of that concern, there is a strong feeling that the Administration should place a major emphasis on negotiating nuclear disarmament rather than on expanding the U.S. nuclear arsenal. And a significant number of Americans think the President is following just the opposite course.

Despite these worries, however, Reagan, in a way that seems to defy the laws of political gravity, remains popular with his fellow citizens. He is seen by a majority as likable, hard working, a strong leader who is well informed on domestic issues and a President who makes his own decisions and has sound economic ideas.

These are the major findings of a public opinion survey, the fourth conducted this year for TIME by the research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly and White Inc.* Concentrating on foreign policy and economic issues in conducting the survey, the Yankelovich pollsters found a notable disparity between the voters' attitudes toward nuclear disarmament and their own perceptions of the President's position. In the survey, 67% say the U.S. should place major emphasis on reaching an arms agreement with the Soviet Union, while only 25% say priority should be given to expanding our own nuclear arsenal as a deterrent. Although a narrow majority (55%) is optimistic about the outcome of current arms talks with the U.S.S.R., only 29% believe the Soviets will live up to their agreements.

There are signs that Ronald Reagan may one day face political trouble on this issue. In the survey, 42% say they feel Reagan is emphasizing a weapons build-up rather than arms control; 40%, however, believe Reagan is giving priority to disarmament. Political affiliation is a minor factor in the responses: 69% of Democrats favor disarmament over rearmament, as do 61% of Republicans and 67% of independents.

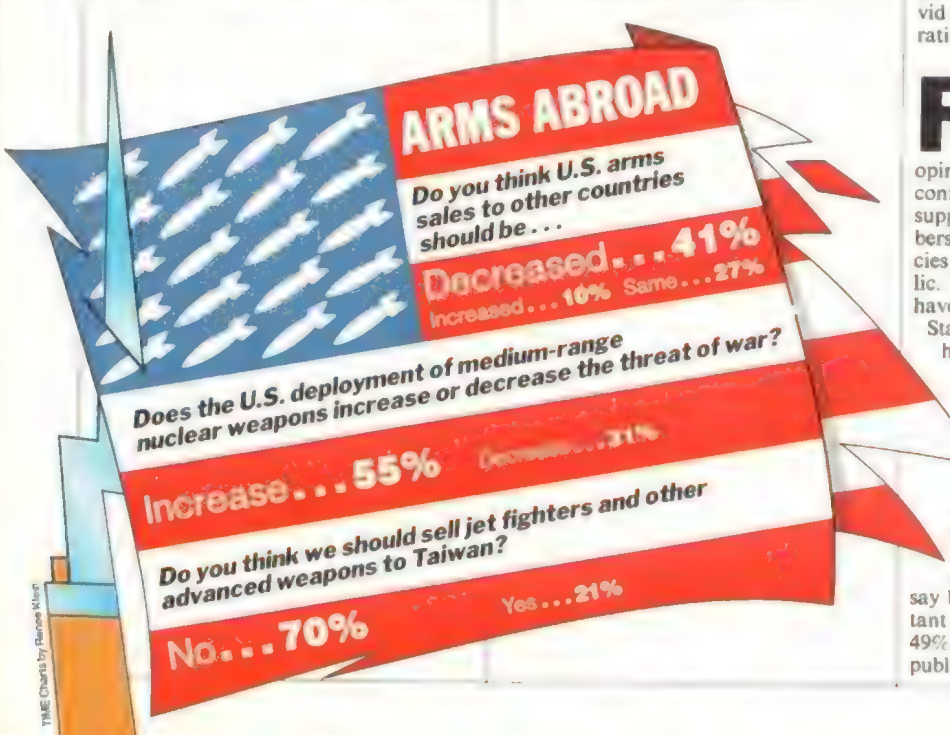
This mood carries over into voter attitudes about nuclear weapons in Europe. Of those surveyed, 55% say placing medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe without having first arrived at some agreement with the Soviet Union will increase the threat of nuclear war. Only 31% take the view that such a move will decrease the danger. According to the survey, 15% of the voters think there is a good chance, and 41% some chance, that nuclear war will break out in Europe within five years.

There is also a clear mandate for cutting back on sales of U.S. arms to other countries. According to Yankelovich, 41% urge a decrease in arms sales, while only 10% think more arms should be sold. The current level of sales is acceptable to 27%. On a very narrow arms issue, 70% oppose the sale of jet fighters and other advanced weaponry to Taiwan, and only 21% favor such a transaction, even though 52% perceive the island republic as an ally we can "definitely trust." (The most trusted ally is Canada, with a 90% approval rating; the least trustworthy is Saudi Arabia, with 27%. The Camp David peace partners have virtually identical ratings: Israel 58%, Egypt 57%.)

Reagan has slipped slightly in the public's estimate of his ability to handle foreign affairs. In September 31% of those who gave an opinion on the question had "a lot" of confidence, but now only 25% express full support. The two principal Cabinet members involved in foreign and defense policies are seen in different lights by the public. There are more voters (26%) who have no real confidence in Secretary of State Alexander Haig than those who have "a lot" of confidence (22%) in him. By contrast, 21% have a lot of confidence in Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, and only 13% express no real confidence.

Reagan has been remarkably successful in convincing Americans that a balanced budget is synonymous with fiscal responsibility and will help restore the nation to economic health. In the survey, 20% say balancing the budget is more important than anything else, while another 49% agree that it is important. Yet the public does not seem to concur with the

*The survey polled 1,001 registered voters nationwide by telephone. The sampling error for a survey of this size is plus or minus 3%. In comparing results of this study with previous TIME-Yankelovich polls, the sampling error is plus or minus 4.5%.



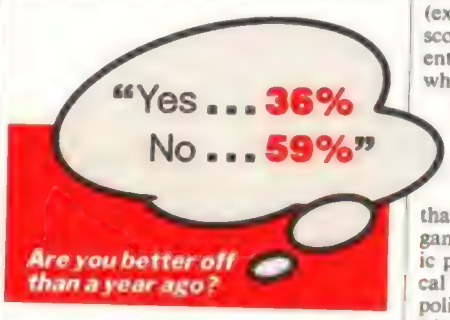
President on how to achieve this goal. In keeping with their cautious attitude on defense issues, 46% say they would reduce military spending, if necessary, to balance the budget; 38% oppose any reduction in defense appropriations. Moreover, significant majorities approve of trying to sop up the red ink by raising taxes on tobacco (74%) and businesses and corporations (59%). At the same time, Yankelovich found that the public is opposed to raising taxes on oil and gasoline (57%) and personal income (73%). The voters also reject overwhelmingly spending cuts on consumer protection (53%), programs for dependent children (56%), entitlement programs like Social Security (71%) and education (78%).

The voters' overall impression of the country's condition has significantly declined. Yankelovich's state of the nation indicator, based on responses to several questions about the economy, showed a drop of 6% since a survey taken in September. At that time, 36% ranked the state of the nation as good; 30% do so now. In October 1980, however, only 20% considered the state of the nation good, and the rating dropped to 18% in January 1981. The latest rating decline appears to be linked to worries about recession. Two out of three voters, and 74% of blue-collar workers, report that they have personally been affected by the recession. Nor is there much hope that this recession will be brief: 68% say the economic decline will last one or two years; only 24% believe it will last six months or less. And 65% think the Government should take some action to end the recession, rather than allow economic problems to work themselves out.

Recession anxiety is beginning to overtake the public's longstanding worries about inflation. Although 51% say they are more concerned about inflation than recession, 37% find recession a greater concern. Among blue-collar workers, 41% are more worried about recession, with 48% of nonwhites feeling that way. Nonetheless, there is also little expectation that inflation will decline much more before 1984. In an echo of the pointed question that Reagan posed to Jimmy Carter during the 1980 presidential debates, the Yankelovich organization asked voters if they were better off now than a year ago. No, answer 59%, while 36% say they are better off.

Despite these pessimistic attitudes and expectations, public confidence in Reagan's economic management persists. Even so, only 34% now say he has made a good start in fulfilling his campaign promise to balance the budget (down from 44% in September). Nearly half (49%) believe the President's policies will help curb inflation. At the same time, 48% believe the recession is necessary to help bring down prices, although 44% disagree. Asked about Reagan's economic programs, 54% believe this year's tax cuts were the right policy, while 37% disagree.

Of U.S. voters who expressed an opinion, 43% said they had some confidence, and 27% a lot, that Reagan and his Administration can solve the nation's economic problems. Twenty-eight percent have no confidence. By contrast, only 12% have a lot of confidence in the Democratic Party and its leaders, while 40% have no confidence.



While the voters worry about recession, they do not hold the President responsible. Asked to what extent they blame Reagan for the recession, 39% said "not at all." Another 33% blame him "only a little." Reagan is clearly his Administration's chief asset. Asked to choose which words or phrases best describe the President, 85% of voters surveyed agree that he is "a likable person," 75% that he is "hard working," 71% that he "handles crises well" and is "a strong leader." Fewer voters, but still more than half, say he has "sound economic ideas" (55%).

The voters similarly reject many criticisms of Reagan. While 37% agree with the proposition that he is "not well informed on domestic issues," 56% disagree. According to the survey, 52% disagree that Reagan leaves too many decisions to his White House staff (37% agree). And 52% disagree that Reagan "has destroyed many of the social gains made over several decades," while 40% agree.

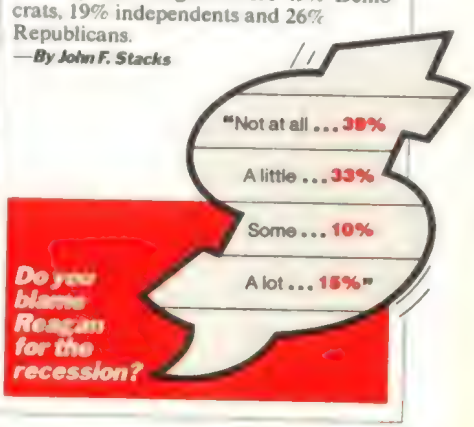
Asked how they felt about Reagan's keeping his campaign promises, 67% say he is making a good start on keeping our defenses strong, and 58% on working effectively with Congress. But only 27% believe he has been effective in reducing the unfairness in American life, and a scant 13% say he has made a good start in cutting youth unemployment. Indeed, 60% agree with the proposition that Reagan "represents the interests of business rather than the average American" (35% disagree). Opinion is closely divided on whether Reagan sets too extravagant a style in the White House: 45% agree.

The miniscandals involving Office of Management and Budget Director David Stockman and National Security Adviser Richard Allen have had little impact on Reagan's standing with the public. In the survey, 60% say his handling of the Stockman affair has not affected their judgment of the President; 55% say the same thing about Allen. A majority of those who have an opinion about Stockman (54%) say he should not be fired; 58% say they are not bothered by stories that Allen had accepted a $1,000 honorarium from a Japanese magazine for arranging an interview with the First Lady.

Asked to rate Reagan's performance as President on a scale of 1 (poor) to 10 (excellent), voters give him a 6 (average) score. Predictably, Republicans are most enthusiastic with a 7.2 rating, and those who describe themselves as liberals are least favorable (a 4.9 ranking). Overall, Democrats give the President a 5.2 rating and independents a 6.2 score.

The Yankelovich poll suggests that the voters are still attracted by Reagan the man and receptive to his economic program. But he faces potential political difficulties on defense and foreign policy matters, and his stunning electoral triumph last November may not lead to permanent gains for his party. In the survey, 47% of the voters call themselves conservatives and only 13% liberals; 41% described themselves as conservatives and 14% as liberals in a Yankelovich poll taken in October 1980. But there has been no significant shift in party loyalties; 47% now identify themselves as Democrats, 17% as independents and only 27% as Republicans. In the October 1980 Yankelovich poll, the figures were 49% Democrats, 19% independents and 26% Republicans.

—By John F. Stacks



Playing Both Santa and Scrooge

Congress wraps up one budget as the President shapes another

The options are presented starkly. One sentence sets forth the department's request; another contains the recommendation from the Office of Management and Budget. After hearing the arguments, the man who sits where the buck stops jots his "RR" in a small box next to one of the alternatives, or scribbles in a compromise. The disputes between Cabinet agencies and David Stockman's OMB have reached the Oval Office, where Ronald Reagan must play either Santa or Scrooge. Even as the final legislation implementing his 1982 budget was being rushed through an adjournment-happy Congress last week, the President was working on the cuts he hopes to make in spending for fiscal 1983 (which starts Oct. 1, 1982).

FOR CONSIDERATION! HOUSE BILL 305 ALL THOSE IN FAVOR SAY 'AYE' PASSED UNANIMOUSLY HOUSE STANDS ADJOURNED
AYE
AYE
AYE

"They Are Cowardly Bums"

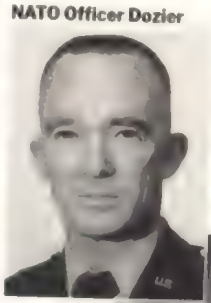
So says Reagan as Italy's Red Brigades kidnap a U.S. general

While the world was keeping a wary eye out for a Libyan attempt on President Reagan or some other U.S. official, terror struck from a different, and unexpected, quarter. A few grim facts came in an anonymous telephone call to the ANSA news agency in Milan: "This is the Red Brigades. We have kidnaped Brigadier General James Dozier. A communiqué will follow."

A second anonymous call, a day later, was even more ominous. It described Dozier as "the hangman of NATO" and said he was being held in a "people's prison, where he will be judged by the proletariat." No mention was made of ransom or terms for his release.

Dozier, 50, is the highest-ranking American Army officer at NATO's Southern Europe land forces headquarters in Verona, with the title of Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics and Administration. Four men dressed as plumbers knocked on his apartment door, clubbed him over the head and carried him off after binding his wife Judith, 47, with chains and tape. By the time her frantic banging against floors and walls aroused neighbors, the kidnapers had a four-hour lead. By week's end police had found no trace of Dozier. Indeed, they have found none of the hideouts used in half a dozen kidnapings during the past three years by the brutally efficient Brigades. Ambassador Maxwell Rabb, who has been under tight security because of an alleged Libyan plan to assassinate him, cut short a visit to Genoa and returned to Rome to coordinate the U.S. side of the kidnap watch.

NATO Officer Dozier



Dozier, a 1956 graduate of West Point, is one of seven generals and six admirals among the 12,000 U.S. military personnel in Italy. The Arcadia, Fla., native is quiet and proper, and lived in unspectacular style. His career includes decorations for combat in Viet Nam and commands in Germany and at Fort Hood, Texas, but he had been in Italy less than 18 months and was outranked at the Verona base by its Italian commander. A U.S. official speculated that his abduction was a "symbolic" act: "He's American, he's a general, he's part of NATO."

It was the first time that the leftist Red Brigades had attacked an American during their eleven-year campaign to destroy Italy's Establishment. Terrorism in Italy peaked in 1978, when 2,395 terrorist attacks were attributed to Italy's left and right, including the Brigades' kidnaping and murder of former Prime Minister Aldo Moro. But a police crackdown, aided by the testimony of Brigades and other terrorist turncoats, has led to 1,650 arrests across the ideological spectrum and has reduced the number of terrorist acts to about 900 this year.

As a result, the Brigades have been more selective about their targets, aiming at those with the greatest publicity value. In September the Brigades' "fall offensive" manifesto warned of a strike against a "high-ranking NATO–U.S. target." On Sept. 15 a West German terrorist unit near Heidelberg ambushed an automobile carrying General Frederick Kroesen, commander of U.S. Army forces in Europe. Kroesen escaped with only minor injuries, but U.S. generals in Europe were advised to safeguard themselves. Little was done. Dozier went on living in his top-floor apartment in downtown Verona—the city of blood feuds and doomed love in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*—in a building without a doorman or even a resident superintendent.

The pattern of Red Brigades kidnapings has been to draw out the agonized suspense for governments and the families of victims, often issuing two or three shrill polemical communiqués before setting ransom. One possible demand in the Dozier case: scrapping a plan to install 112 nuclear-tipped American cruise missiles in southern Sicily in 1983.

Whatever the terms, the situation will put to the test President Reagan's stated opposition to dealing with terrorists. During a brief exchange with reporters on Friday, he declined to say if he would bargain. But his frustration was evident. Said the President: "I would like to be able to . . . say to the people who do these things [that] they are cowardly bums, they aren't heroes, and they don't havea cause that justifies what they're doing." ■

Police escort Wife Judith from their home

An unguarded life, despite threats.

Labor Secretary in Washington

Labor Troubles

More questions for Donovan

The legal problems of Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan are deepening. A special prosecutor will probably be appointed this week to investigate allegations that Donovan witnessed an illegal payoff by his New Jersey construction firm to a corrupt union official in 1977. In addition, TIME has learned that investigators are looking into the possibility of perjury in Donovan's testimony at his confirmation hearing, when he claimed he had never met New Jersey Gangster Salvatore (Sally Bugs) Briguglio.

Just before Donovan was confirmed in February, the FBI told the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee that Mobster Ralph Picardo had claimed to have received regular payoffs from Donovan in the 1960s for labor peace. Picardo had testified for the Government to help convict several Teamsters Union officials of racketeering. According to the FBI, Picardo contended that Briguglio, a victim of a mob execution in 1978, had shared these payoffs. When asked about this at his Senate hearings, Donovan denied giving any bribes, called Picardo "murdering slime" and testified three times that he had never even met Briguglio. Because the FBI reported that it could not verify Picardo's charges, the committee accepted Donovan's denials. But since the hearings, TIME has learned, other witnesses have told federal investigators that they had seen Donovan and Briguglio together. Donovan refused to comment on the investigation, but President Reagan declared at last week's press conference: "I have had assurances that there are no grounds to these charges."

The special prosecutor is also expected to look into dealings between Donovan's former company, Schiavone Construction Co., and William Masselli, a member of New York's Genovese Mafia family. Masselli heads an excavation firm

that has made some $12 million under subcontracts with Schiavone. The FBI has evidence showing unusually close links between Schiavone officials, including Donovan, and Masselli. Masselli had a preferential (but not necessarily illegal) arrangement under which he was to be paid 7½% of the cost of his company's work for Schiavone "off the top," as his firm's profit. He collected some $250,000 in such fees for subway work and is suing Schiavone for about $630,000 more. The Schiavone company also loaned Masselli $200,000 to start the subway job.

Over the past three years, Masselli was the target of FBI agents, wiretappers, stakeouts, prosecutors and federal grand juries. These investigations produced reports of an alleged $5,000 payoff to New York City Democratic Congressman Mario Biaggi. The money was said to have come from a paving contractor who was seeking dumping privileges at a city landfill. Biaggi denied any such deal, saying: "It didn't happen." Similarly, Masselli is alleged to have sought the help of Carmine De Sapio, 73, a former New York City Democratic leader, in leasing a dump site from the New York State Metropolitan Transportation Authority. A man claiming to be an intermediary told Masselli that the help of De Sapio would cost about $20,000. De Sapio refused to comment on the matter. ■

Allen's Allies

Friends throw him a lunch

It was part pep rally, part gesture of defiance. One day last week, 415 friends of embattled National Security Adviser Richard Allen gathered for a $30-a-person lunch in his honor at Washington's Mayflower Hotel. Master of Ceremonies Edwin Feulner, president of the Heritage Foundation, praised Allen as "a beacon of hope and light for all of us."

M. Stanton Evans, a contributing editor of *Human Events* magazine, drew cheers when he noted that Allen had not joined "the George Bush apparatus" in the 1980 G.O.P. primaries, and added about Allen: "This makes you wonder how he got a job in this Administration." Reflecting the feeling that the press had vastly exaggerated Allen's alleged conflicts of interest, the Rev. Norris W. Sydnor, a Baptist minister from near by in Maryland, used the invocation to declare: "We think about the free press and sometimes the threat that it has on our freedom in America."

One oddity: of the six supporters who signed the 1,400 invitations, only Feulner attended. The no-shows: Brewer Joseph Coors, Financier Justin Dart, former Treasury Secretary William Simon, the Moral Majority's Rev. Jerry Falwell and Columnist William Buckley. Dart was in the hospital, and the others said they had previous engagements. ■

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Those Evergreen Echoes

The Reagans with children of White House staffers at pre-Christmas festivities

In his studio at Chadds Ford, Pa., with a model of the White House before him, Jamie Wyeth invoked the gift of fancy that runs in his veins, and with his brush brought snow to canvas. Meteorological records were shattered. The giant flakes covered the fountain on the South Lawn and blotted out the driveways. Cars disappeared. Falling snow hushed the city and drew a purple night around it. Wyeth stilled the melancholy world with his lovely strokes and brought the stars out one by one on Christmas Eve. He lighted the window of the Reagans' bedroom with an artist's alchemy of oil and watercolor, a small golden rectangle of warmth and hope. It is a reminder that joy and thanks, for the moment, can overwhelm chaos and brutality, and the simple human ritual of a midnight prayer or a final package wrapping can replace those rumbles of nations marching.

Wyeth first sketched the White House last fall, as he sat cross-legged on the lawn. The finished painting became the Reagans' Christmas card this year. That token of good will to men is not a new phenomenon in the federal city, where trouble is the main business. Many Presidents have turned to Christmas festivities with a special fervor, to dispel for a few precious hours the gloom that usually presses in. Back in 1941, when war had come and news of defeat was the daily Washington fare, Franklin Roosevelt brought a guest to the South Portico on Christmas Eve. Winston Churchill looked out over thousands of troubled people who had gathered on the lawn with a special understanding. "Let the children have their night of fun and laughter," he said. "Let the gifts of Father Christmas delight their hearts; let us share to the full in their unstinted pleasure, before we turn again to the stern tasks in the year that lies before us."

So it will be in the Reagan White House, where 19 members of the family and close friends will come for Christmas dinner. To accompany the turkey, the President will get his favorite sweet potatoes with marshmallows and even some monkey bread, a thick, spongy concoction he relishes. The White House is laced with vivid red, green, gold and white decorations. There is a giant bunch of mistletoe in the foyer, a 19½-ft. Douglas fir from Spartansburg, Pa., and the gingerbread house in the State Dining Room has a jelly bean path to the door.

The halls of the White House echo with music almost every day and night, as visiting choirs take turns singing for the huge crowds that walk in awed silence through the candlelit state rooms. Musty portraits of Presidents from Christmases past have been garlanded with evergreens: even Chester Arthur with his mutton chops got an injection of cheer.

Ghosts are about, like that of the indomitable Abigail Adams, who was so determined to have a Christmas in the unfinished White House in 1800 that 20 cords of wood were burned in all the fireplaces to heat the bleak building. Jefferson, one legend has it, was so moved by the Christmas gaiety five years later that he got out his violin and played a few tunes.

The grim news from Poland may intrude into the intimate moments of White House life this week. But Christmas, with its echoing cry for brotherhood, its pleas for peace on earth, is a necessary annual nourishment for the presidency, just as important in some ways as the tax receipts. The stage is magnificently set. Word has it that Ronald Reagan will add to White House cheer by singing a carol or two, and Nancy has told her household that there will be snow. The flakes that Jamie Wyeth created in October have been waiting around for the cue.

The pleasure is back.

BARCLAY

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Freezing Moments in History

Photojournalists, aided by television, have come into their own again

▶ Young John Kennedy Jr. saluting the flag during his father's funeral procession.

▶ The South Viet Nam chief of police putting a bullet through the head of a Viet Cong prisoner.

▶ Lyndon Johnson lifting his shirt to show the scar from his gallstone operation.

▶ A gang of assassins running toward a Cairo reviewing stand to gun down Anwar Sadat.

The very mention of such images, as familiar to this generation as favorite lines of song or poetry were to those of the past, is enough to start a slide show deep within the brain, in those mysterious regions where memories are stored and dreams begin. More and more, history is recorded through pictures, and in the past two decades there has scarcely been an event worth noting that has not been photographed from a dozen different angles.

Centuries from now those images will be as vivid and immediate as they are today. "A powerful picture reaches into your heart and just rips it out," says Photographer Eddie Adams. People will always have to hold fast to their hearts when they see, as if it were happening before them, Robert Kennedy bleeding on the floor of a hotel hallway or a spectral Neil Armstrong taking his first tentative step onto the moon.

It will be as if we ourselves were able to witness great Caesar's shock as he reels before the daggers inside the Roman Senate, Columbus' triumphant smile as he spies the dim outline of the New World, Washington's hope and anxiety as he crosses the icy Delaware to surprise the Hessians in their Christmas celebrations. "Can you imagine having had thousands of candid and honest pictures of Charlemagne, Kublai Khan or Abraham Lincoln?" asks Yoichi Okamoto, who was official photographer to Lyndon Johnson. Okamoto's excitement is catching. Photojournalism has known many great days since the first news shot 139 years ago, a panoramic view of the destruction caused by the great Hamburg fire of 1842; and the glories of the original LIFE, the greatest of all picture magazines, may never be surpassed. Despite the wonders of television, the still news photograph retains its special magic. "It is sometimes thought that the arrival of the moving picture made the still image obsolete," says Harold Evans, editor of the London *Times*. "I believe, quite to the contrary, that the still image has never been more powerful. It is a moment frozen in time; it preserves forever a finite fraction of the infinite time of the universe."

Television, in fact, has created a visual generation that never seems to tire of an arresting image. Viewers who watch an event on the nightly news want to see it again, to study it at their leisure in newspapers the next day and magazines the next week. "Television is going too fast. It doesn't lodge in the psyche the way a still does," says Sean Callahan, editor of *American Photographer*. "TV can be like a slap in the face; it stings for a while and then goes away. But a still picture is like a stern lecture; it stays with you." An NBC television camera, for example, filmed the South Viet Nam police chief executing a Viet Cong prisoner. But it was Eddie Adams' still photograph that branded the senses and intensified opposition to the war. Boston's WNAC-TV recorded the sad drama of an antibusing rally in which a white man used the Stars and Stripes as a spear to attack a black man. But it was Stanley Forman's single, Pulitzer-prizewinning still in the *Herald American* that aroused national outrage and disgust. "I got the same stuff as Forman, but it didn't have the same impact," admits former TV Cameraman Richie Suskin.

In the past decade newspapers have given more space and more attention to pictures that tell a story. One day last year the once gray New York *Times* ran 160 photographs in a 96-page issue. Journalists specializing in pictures and design are suddenly turning up in the profession's management positions. At the same time, magazines like TIME and *Newsweek* have gone to great effort to illustrate news events with more and better color photography. "The picture has become an absolute necessity," says Hubert Henrotte, a co-founder of the Gamma-Liaison and Sygma picture agencies. "There has never been such a demand for photos to illustrate articles."

Thus for photographers, opportunities have never been so

big or so varied—nor fees so high. Nakram Gadel Karim's photos of Sadat's murder brought him almost $50,000; Sebastiao Salgado Jr. earned an estimated $150,000 to $200,000 for his pictures of the attempted assassination of President Reagan. Over a year's time, respected photographers can make anywhere from $40,000 to $100,000. Although a beginner may have to scrounge to earn as little as $15,000, young people have found news photography a particular magnet: there are an estimated 20,000 newspaper photographers in the U.S. today, compared with half that number a decade ago. In much of the world there are almost as many cameras as people, moreover, and amateurs have captured some of the most important events of the past several years: the shooting of Pope John Paul II, a photograph that became TIME's cover, May 25, 1981; the fiery fall of a 727 over San Diego; and the collapse of the Teton Dam in Idaho.

Except for occasional special assignments, newspaper photographers usually work a specific city or region. For them, a sure sense of direction and a fast car are as important as f-stops. Forman, who keeps a crackling police radio under his pillow, won back-to-back Pulitzer Prizes by making sure he was in the

right place at the right time. "My luck," he says, "is getting there."

The best magazine photographers go everywhere, shoot everything. For the most part they are represented by one of the six major agencies—Sygma, Magnum, Gamma-Liaison, Sipa, Black Star and Contact—which, for a fee (usually 40% to 50% of sales), play mother and salesman, lining up buyers throughout the world. Most of the agencies have their headquarters in Paris, and Paris is also home base for many photojournalists. "Geographically, it's the ideal place to be," says Robert Pledge, president of Contact. "It's halfway between Washington and Moscow, Hamburg and Madrid."

Good photographers are among the last survivors of a more swashbuckling era of journalism. As the news has become more complicated, a good reporter does much of his best work at his desk, sifting through piles of research to understand and make understandable to his readers the likes of SALT and MIRV and the skirmishes of the Battle of the Budget. A photographer, on the other hand, must be in the heat of the action, whether it is a war or a natural disaster—or a budget meeting. "If you are a reporter, you can be behind the front line and still get your job done," says Alfred Eisenstaedt, who was one of the ornaments of LIFE's golden era. "But a photographer has to be right there."

That kind of involvement requires a special temperament. Occasionally photographers are a little crazy, and almost always they are obsessed. Often too they are pushy and, by some standards, obnoxious. Freelancer Matthew Naythons was so upset by the conduct of his colleagues during Rosalynn Carter's 1979 visit to refugee camps in Thailand that he simply abandoned the assignment. "The conduct of the photographers was morally reprehensible," he recalls with anger. "They were literally trampling dying babies to get better shots." Frequently, however, they are also brave and daring, in an old-fashioned way that is rare nowadays. In Viet Nam, some 30 cameramen were killed or listed as missing covering history's most photographed war. "More photojournalists died than generals," says Magnum Executive Raymond Depardon. Many of them took their credo from Robert Capa, the legendary photographer best remembered for his stunning LIFE shots of the troops landing on D-day. "If your pictures aren't good enough," he used to say, "you aren't close enough." In 1954, Capa became the first photographer killed during the Indo-China War.

But even the most reckless photographers draw a line between the acceptable and the unacceptable risk. "When I get hit, I hope it's because I'm unlucky, not stupid," says Naythons, who has been known to wear a bulletproof vest. "I'm never worried about the bullet with my name on it. I'm worried about the one that says, 'To Whom It May Concern.' "

With the slightest prodding, photographers will brag about their exploits and their cunning in lengthy and often colorful detail. But some famous pictures, like Adams' shot of the Saigon execution, are totally unplanned. Then working for the Associated Press, he went with an NBC crew to a pagoda where fighting had been reported. The South Vietnamese had just recaptured the building, but as the newsmen were leaving, they spotted a young prisoner being led away, his arms tied behind his back. An officer, whom they later identified as Brigadier General Nguyen Ngoc Loan, suddenly appeared and reached for his pistol. Adams, fast on the draw himself, raised his camera and automatically clicked the shutter. He did not fully realize what he had until a colleague wired, "This is the greatest picture of the Viet Nam War!" Or as Evans now explains: "That was the most important gunshot of the war, not because it was heard round the world, but because it was seen round the world."

The best pictures are usually those that show what Freelancer Henry Grossman calls "revealing juxtapositions." With advanced electronic cameras, which automatically focus and determine light settings, almost anyone can film action: a fire, a raging crowd or an erupting volcano. Only someone with a special eye can catch those odd and revealing juxtapositions that give meaning to the obvious and jejune. The portraits of an exploding Mount St. Helens were awesomely beautiful; but it was San Jose *Mercury News* Photographer George Wedding's aerial picture of Andy, an eleven-year-old who had been asphyxiated by volcanic ash as he lay in the back of a pickup, that conveyed the awful power of that awful beauty.

In a sense, photojournalists today are competing against all the news pictures that have ever been taken. Their ability to bring back images of war, disaster and suffering has had, over time, a desensitizing effect. Says Floris de Bonneville, Gamma's picture editor in Paris: "The real revolution in photojournalism is in the readers' fatigue. They are no longer shocked or surprised by anything." Contact Partner David Burnett, 34, understood this when he went to Cambodia to photograph refugees. "It is easy to make pictures of people starving," he says. "I wanted to take a picture that people would look at again." His shot of a weary and resigned Cambodian refugee holding an infant was an expressionist masterpiece that was judged the best photograph in 1980 by the World Press Photo Association.

In the very early days of photojournalism, picture takers often trailed behind writers, like baggage carriers in the African bush. "Just look over our heads, Mr. Secretary," a cameraman once called up to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who was standing with other diplomats on a balcony. "We always do," replied Acheson. Now the roles are more nearly equal. "When I hear snooty remarks about photojournalists, I think of one of their greatest achievements—objective presentation of war and its consequences," says Evans. "Their pictures have told many truths, and they have been prepared to risk everything to capture an image and hold it fast forever." In war and peace, photojournalists are recording life and death, joy and sadness. History now has eyes as well as ears.

—By Gerald Clarke.

Reported by Elizabeth Rudulph and Janice C. Simpson/New York

For the photographer 1981 offered dramatic opportunities to capture history on the wing: assassination attempts, a royal wedding, riots and, happily, the comic and the comely too. On the following pages, TIME presents a gallery of the year's best pictures.

Photograph of Columbia launching by Mathew Naythons—Gamma/Liaison for TIME

1981

IMAGES

"A in't no way you can describe it."

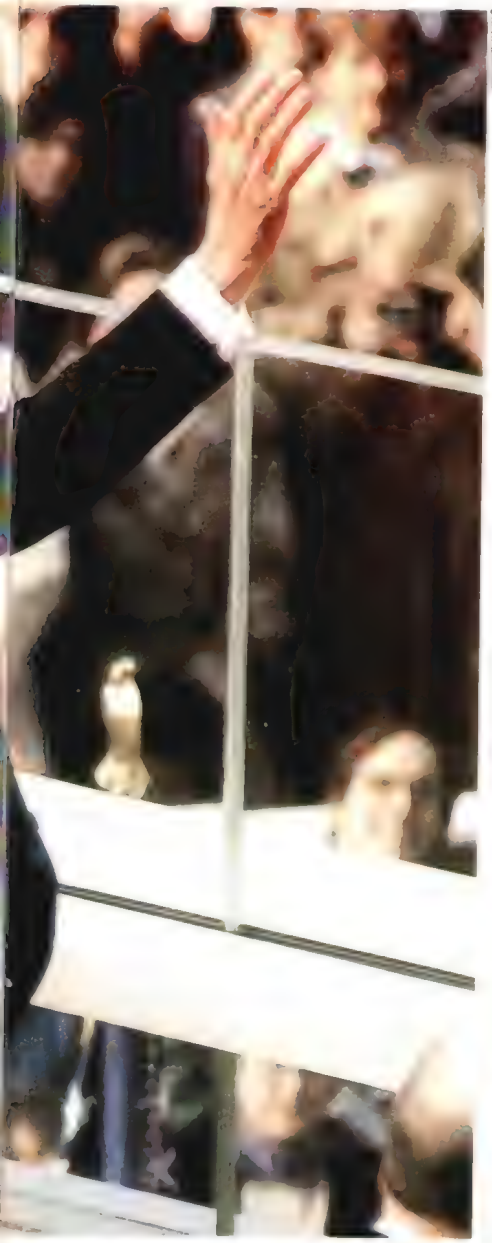
—Astronaut Robert Crippen, copilot on the space shuttle *Columbia's* maiden flight

"We're the new folks in town. Now we're in charge."

—White House secretary after the Reagan inauguration

"Come on, everybody. This is a time to be happy."

—Jimmy Carter leaving town



"It's good to be out of Khomeini-land.

—A former U.S. hostage, one of 52 freed from Iran minutes after Reagan took office

We have rubbed America's nose in the dirt.

—Iranian official"

Oh, my God, it's happening!

—White House Aide Michael Deaver as gunfire cut down President Reagan, Press Secretary James Brady and Washington Policeman Thomas Delahanty

On March 30, I made my love known to her in my own unique way.

—John Hinckley, referring to the unrequited passion for Actress Jodie Foster that led him to shoot the President

Why did they do it?

—Pope John Paul II as he was rushed into surgery after being seriously wounded in St. Peter's Square

I have killed the Pope.

—Turkish Terrorist Mehmet Ali Agca in a message he left in his Rome hotel room just before his assassination attempt

DIRCK HALSTEAD

Faith means that a man should regard any disaster simply as a fate-determined blow which must be endured.

—Egypt's President Anwar Sadat in his autobiography

I want this dog, this tyrant Sadat.

—Egyptian First Lieut. Khaled Ahmed Shawki Islambuli just before he and several accomplices murdered Sadat

"Israel will intensify the war against the terrorists.

—Israeli defense official on eve of Beirut bombing that left at least 200 dead, 600 wounded

If we're not careful, we're going to wind up like Lebanon.

—Moderate Protestant in troubled Northern Ireland

Politics is like a cut flower, quickly withered.

—Socialist Leader François Mitterrand before defeating Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to become President of France

Iran has become a horror movie.

—Tehran lawyer following the killing of 150 Islamic Republican Party leaders in the bombing of their headquarters

The veneer of civilization is very thin.

—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as the worst rioting in a century set British cities ablaze

There is a fire in the country.

—Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa as strikes and shortages battered Poland

”

Everyone in Europe wanted a pacifist Germany. Well, now they have one.

—Munich student on antinuclear movement

Only by disarmament can we properly protect our people.

—British Labor Party Leader Michael Foot addressing demonstrators

Talking to the superpowers about disarmament is like talking to drug dealers about stopping drug deliveries.

—Volkmar Delle, secretary of West German peace group

From Sicily to Scandinavia, no to NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

—Placard at Rome rally

If the Europeans want the American nuclear umbrella folded up, they presumably know the consequences. We can't graft backbone.

—U.S. diplomat

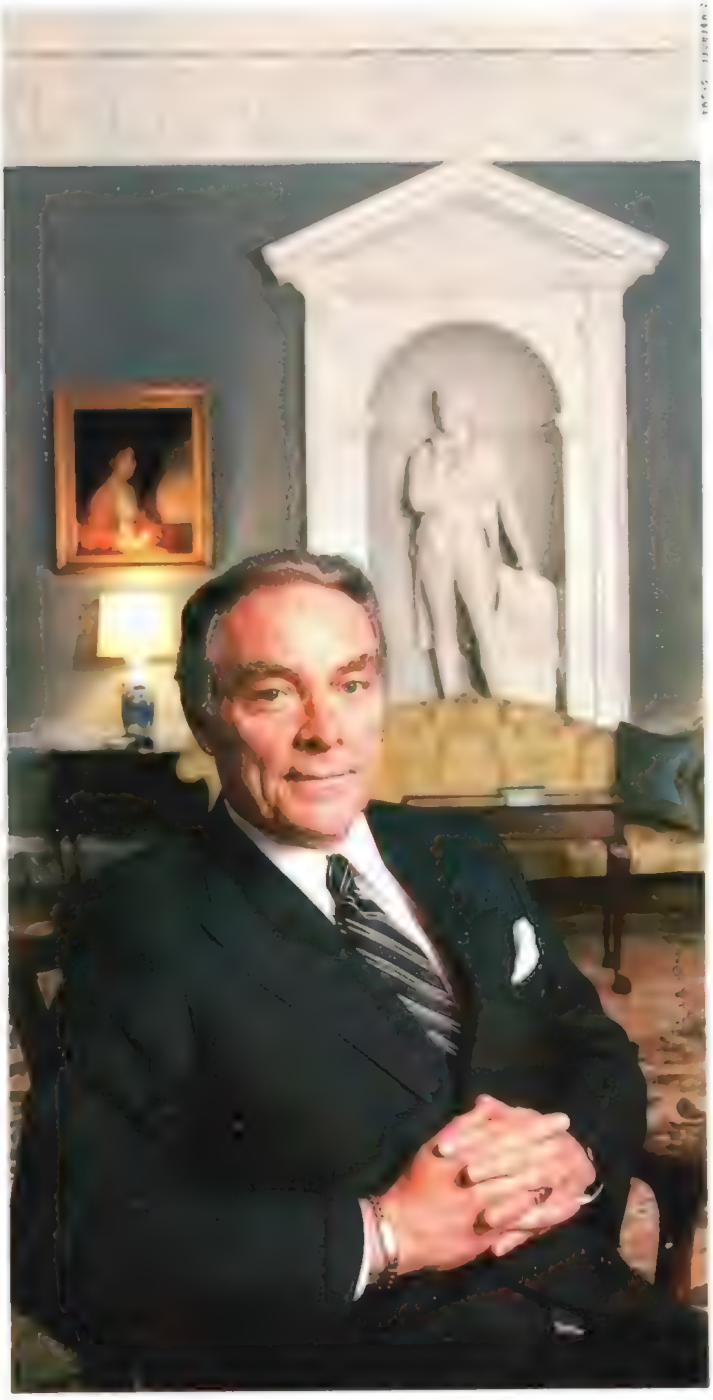
BACH
in Frieden
US Atom-
raketen!
BLOB
AUT

NO
CRUISE
NO

PACE
PACE
MONDO

> All couples on their wedding day are 'royal couples.'
>
> —Robert Runcie, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana

> Diana, stop stealing the show.
>
> —Prince Charles to the Princess of Wales



"None of us really understands what's going on with all these numbers.

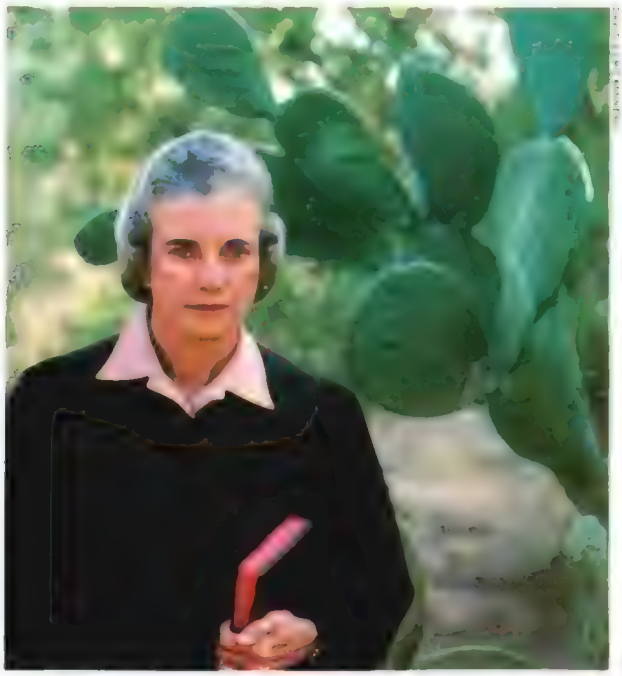
—Budget Director David Stockman

I resent the inference that there is something less than aboveboard.

—National Security Adviser Richard Allen on a $1,000 honorarium

I haven't changed my style in 20 years . . . and that style is to get mad when things go wrong.

—Alexander Haig



You are one of nine people. You aren't subservient to anyone.

—Retired Justice Potter Stewart to Sandra O'Connor, Supreme Court's first woman

We're turning out moral revolutionaries.

—The Rev. Jerry Falwell, founder and president of Moral Majority

This is quite a planeload.

—Secretary of State Haig on the presence of former Presidents Carter, Ford and Nixon aboard the jet bound for Anwar Sadat's funeral

"

"The structural integrity and safety of the building had been assured by the architects, the contractor and in subsequent building inspections.

—Hyatt Corp. official in a letter to Missouri's Governor after the collapse of two walkways at Kansas City's Hyatt Regency Hotel that left 113 dead, 186 injured

"We're going to get that little bug before that little bug gets my poll ratings down any further.

—California's Governor Jerry Brown during the Medfly infestation that threatened his state's $14 billion agricultural industry

"Obviously, the property is not worth as much as it was this time last year.

—Florida appraiser after the earth opened up in the town of Winter Park, creating a huge sinkhole that swallowed trees, cars and buildings

My goal was to make the team.

—Fernando Valenzuela, the Dodgers' rookie wonder

You are the pits of the world! Vultures! Trash!

—Tennis Ace John McEnroe at Wimbledon, addressing (in order) umpire, fans, reporters

If someone has to be the winningest coach, it might as well be me.

—Alabama's Bear Bryant after record 315th victory

A game, a teaching aid, a sport and a piece of art.

—Ernö Rubik, on his cube

I can make something to wear out of anything.

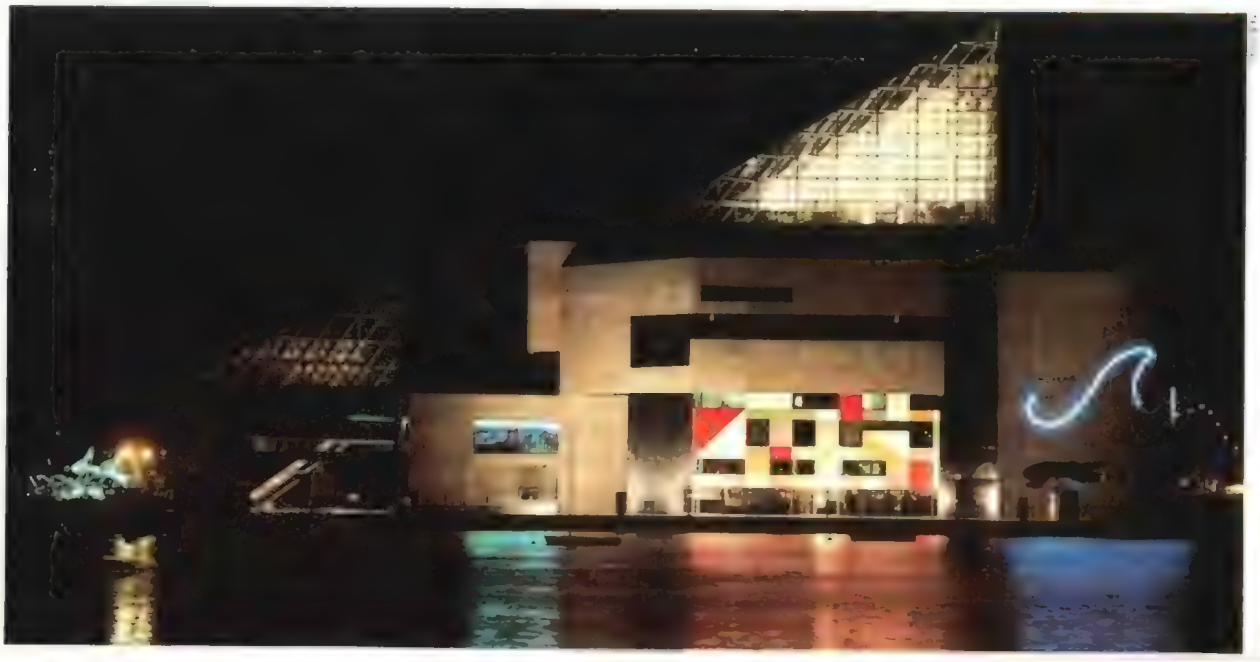
—Designer Norma Kamali

I've always said, 'I'll never do this again.' I never meant it.

—Mick Jagger on U.S. tour

The American city isn't dying. It's being reborn.

—Developer James Rouse on Baltimore's Harborplace, site of the National Aquarium



"A bit of sex and a bit of innocence; distinction yet the warmth of youth."

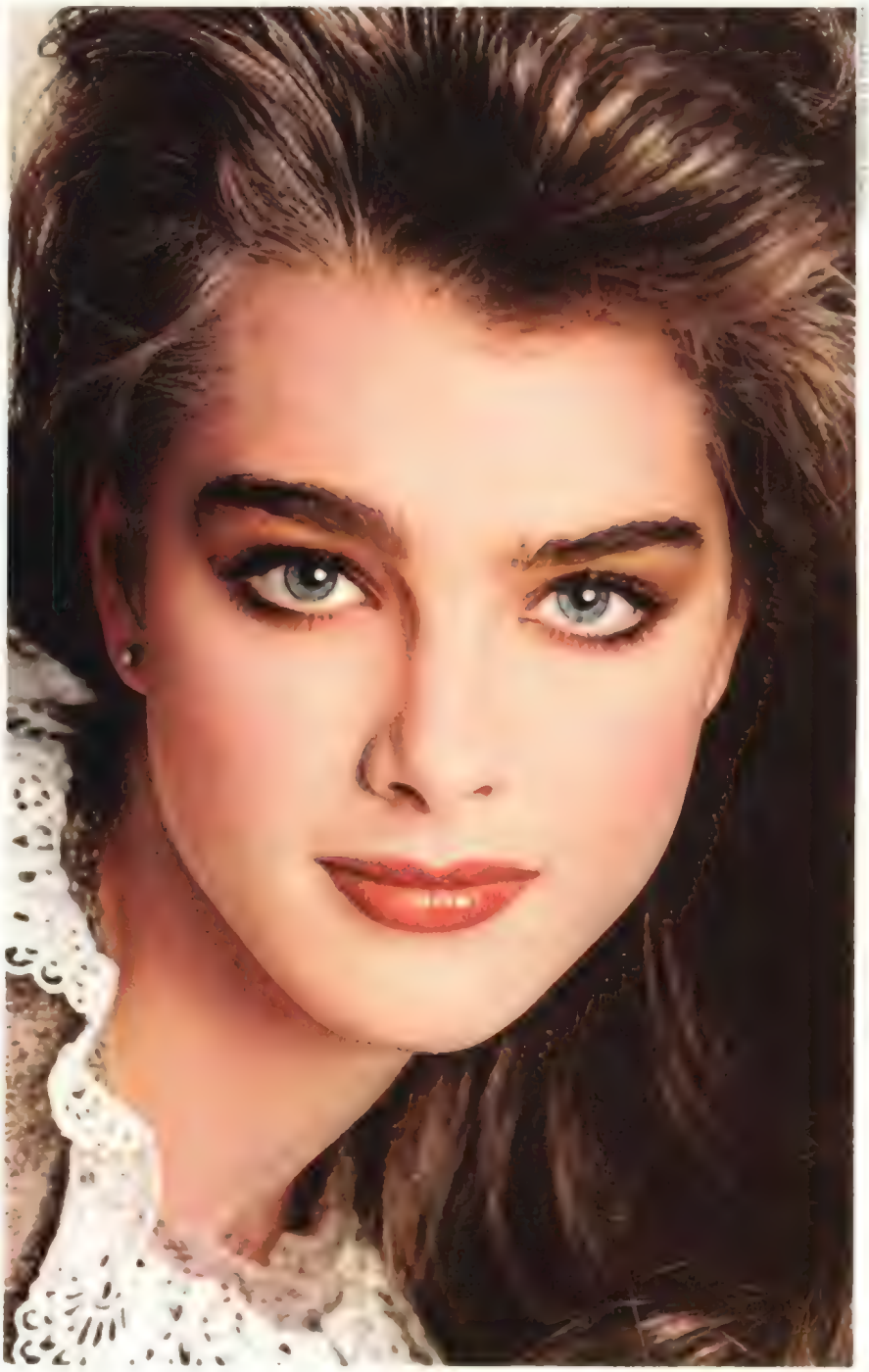
—Models' Agent John Casablancas on Brooke Shields

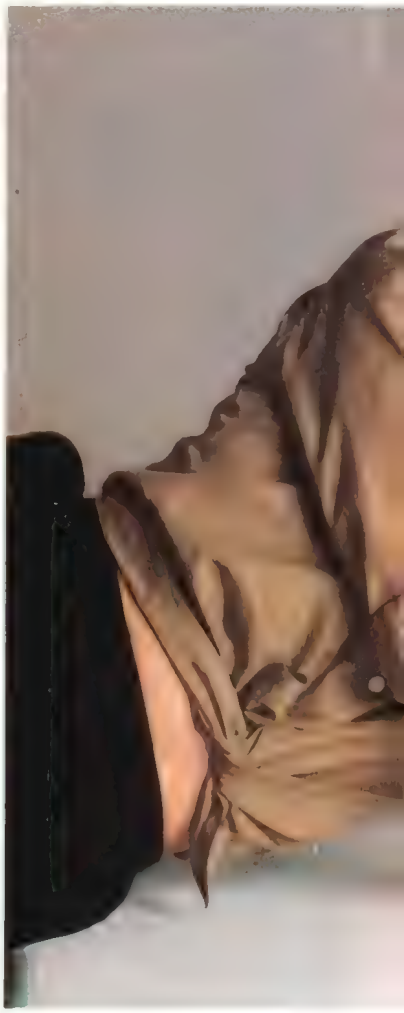
"We haven't yet begun to see the richness of her talent."

—Producer Joseph Papp on Actress Meryl Streep

"I will do whatever the role requires."

—Actress Nastassia Kinski, here posing with a python for a poster by Photographer Richard Avedon



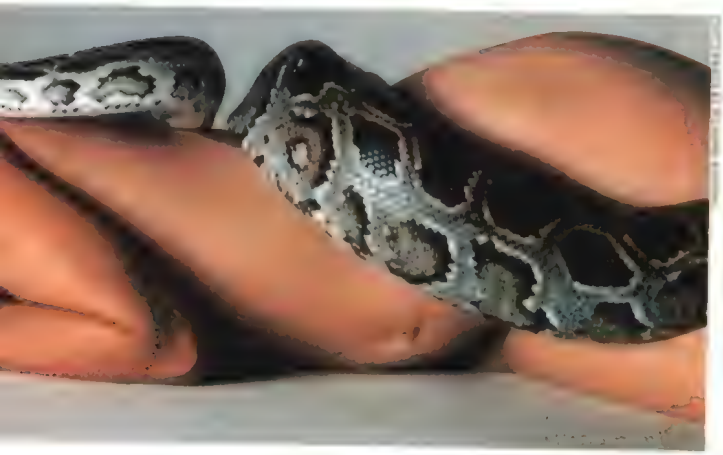


Anarchy is running through our society, as it did in Dickens' time.

—Actor Roger Rees, star of *Nicholas Nickleby*

What, we ask, is life
Without a touch of
Poetry in it?

—Kevin Kline as the Pirate King in Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Pirates of Penzance*



Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health
15 mg. "tar", 1.2 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May '81.
There's only one way to play it...
Wherever the music is hot, the taste is Kool. Because there's only one sensation this refreshing.
20
KOOL
Filter Kings

IMAGES: Farewell

Omar Bradley, 88, first chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and last of the five-star generals, whose 69-year military career was the longest in U.S. history. An inconspicuous, Washington-based lieutenant colonel with no combat experience at the start of World War II, he led U.S. forces in some of the most decisive campaigns of the war and was known as the "G.I.'s general" because of his genuine concern for the men he commanded.

Moshe Dayan, 66, soldier-statesman who was an architect of Israel's military victories in 1956 and 1967 and also, while Foreign Minister from 1977 to 1979, of the Camp David accords that led to peace with Egypt. As Defense Minister in 1973, he was accused of leaving Israel vulnerable to surprise attack in the October War. Always something of a maverick, Dayan, who lost an eye fighting the Vichy French in Syria in 1941, became a passionate advocate of coexistence between Jew and Arab.

Will Durant, 96, Pulitzer-prizewinning historian and "biographer of mankind." His monumental, eleven-volume *The Story of Civilization*, one of the most popular history series ever published, was written with his wife of 68 years, **Ariel,** 83, who died just 13 days earlier.

William Holden, 63, whose rugged good looks and raspy baritone graced more than 50 films, including *Sunset Boulevard, Picnic, The Bridge on the River Kwai* and *Network*. He won an Oscar in 1953 for his hard-bitten prisoner of war in *Stalag 17*.

Joe Louis, 66, the "Brown Bomber," one of the best heavyweights ever, whose thunderous punch leveled the likes of James J. Braddock, Billy Conn and Tony Galento. In a memorable vengeance match with racist overtones that was over in a lightning 2 min. 4 sec. of the first round, he crushed Germany's Max Schmeling in 1938. As champ from 1937 to 1949, he defended his title a record 25 times, but never pocketed the monster purses common today and spent years in debt.

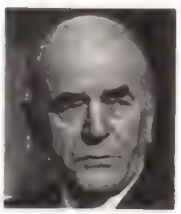
Bob Marley, 36, Jamaican prince of reggae, the distinctive, pulsing Caribbean blend of calypso and soul music that carries a weighty message of black pride, peace and Rastafarian religion. Marley rose from the slums of Kingston to become a national hero and international star.

Robert Moses, 92, master builder and powerbroker of New York City and State for 50 years, whose monuments include 35 highways, twelve bridges, more than 2.5 million acres of park land, Lincoln Center and the 1964-65 World's Fair. His vision inspired the reshaping—some said misshaping—of urban and suburban space across America.

Anwar Sadat, 62, President of Egypt, who led his country to war against Israel in 1973, then launched a peace initiative climaxed by one of the most dramatic gestures ever made by a head of state, his "sacred mission" to Jerusalem in 1977 to proclaim his willingness "to live in permanent peace and justice." The 1978 Camp David accords made him the only Arab leader to make peace with the Jewish state, but also made him anathema to many of his countrymen and culminated in his assassination.

William Saroyan, 72, prolific Armenian-American writer whose energetic works, notably the 1939 Pulitzer-prize play *The Time of Your Life* and the 1942 novel *The Human Comedy*, celebrated the vitality and diversity of the American spirit.

Albert Speer, 76, Adolf Hitler's architect and builder of monuments to the Third Reich who, as Minister of Armaments and War Production, used slave labor to keep the German war machine running. The only Nazi leader to admit his guilt at the Nuremberg war-crimes trials, he served 20 years before his release in 1966.



Lowell Thomas, 89, peripatetic journalist and pioneering broadcaster who wrote more than 50 books about his globetrotting experiences. His lecture tours and movie narrations, but mostly his 50 years as a radio newscaster, caused him, as he grandiloquently put it, to be "heard by more people than any voice in history."

Omar Torrijos Herrera, 52, an ebullient soldier who, after leading a 1968 coup, became Panama's *de facto* strongman, though he served as official chief of government only from 1972 to 1978. A mystery figure of no known ideology but possessing formidable political ability, he employed shrewd negotiating skills and a talent for manipulating volatile nationalist sentiment to bring about the 1977-78 treaties restoring the Panama Canal Zone to his country's sovereignty.

Natalie Wood, 43, who, in a career that began at age 4, acted in 45 films, received three Academy Award nominations. Growing into a wholesome sensuousness, she became one of the few child actresses to make the transition to adult stardom.

Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, 79, Roman Catholic Primate of Poland for more than 30 years, fiery advocate of the faith and defiant symbol of Polish nationalism under Soviet-dominated Communist regimes. An astute political infighter and vigorous defender of social and political rights, he mastered a precarious form of cooperation with the commissars that preserved the church's independence and helped pave the way for the development of the Solidarity trade-union federation.

MIDDLE EAST

Begin's Brash Blitz

Israel extends its law to the Golan Heights

The move was organized with all the boldness, secrecy and speed of an Israeli commando raid—and it had the same kind of impact. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, still recovering from a three-week-old hip fracture, suddenly emerged from his hospital bed early last week to appear in a wheelchair in the Knesset. There he brusquely announced that his government would make into law what Israel has long accomplished in fact: the takeover of the strategic Golan Heights, 444 sq. mi. of rocky terrain captured from Syria during the Six-Day War of 1967. Said Begin: "We are talking about our very lives and our future, and the welfare of this nation."

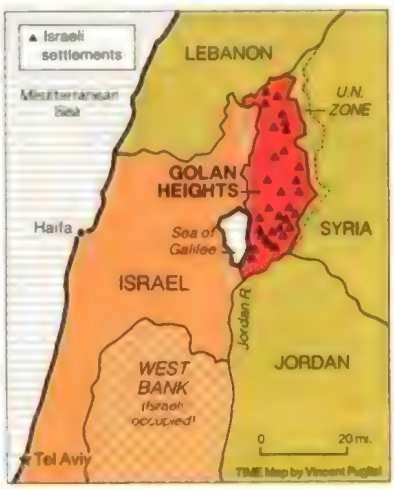
After more than six hours of raucous debate, Begin got what he wanted. By a 63-to-21 vote, the Knesset agreed to extend "the law, jurisdiction and administration of the state" to the heights area, which has been treated for 14 years by Israel as occupied foreign territory under military rule. Israel's move fell short of outright annexation, but only in the narrowest legal sense.

Begin's initiative prompted immediate criticism from astonished governments abroad. French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson declared himself "dumbfounded" and charged that the move violated the 1907 Hague Convention that demands respect for local law in occupied territories—an implicit affirmation that sovereignty cannot be transferred in such cases "except in the event of insurmountable difficulties." In his strongest foreign policy statement to date, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak called the move "a blow to the peace efforts" in the Middle East.

Perhaps the angriest reaction came from Israel's main ally, the U.S. At week's end, the State Department declared that in retribution it was suspending the U.S.-Israeli agreement on strategic cooperation signed in Washington just three weeks previously. Technical talks scheduled for January to spell out practical details of the agreement will not take place. Israel's unilateral action, Washington charged, was contrary to United Nations Resolution 242—calling for Israel to return captured territory in exchange for peace and secure and recognized borders—"on which the Camp David accords and all Middle East peace negotiations have been based."

Wheelchair-bound, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin votes in favor of Golan Heights law

Begin, however, had anticipated the American reaction in his pugnacious Knesset speech: "We consciously decided not to ask [the U.S.], since we had no doubt that our American friends would tell us no, and with all due respect, we could not take this no into account."



The immediate effect of Begin's action was to throw new sparks at the Middle East powder keg. So far as the Syrian government was concerned, Begin's action added a permanent dimension to the humiliation of losing the heights in the first place. Syria responded by declaring that Israel's move amounted to an "act of war." As if to give real meaning to that charge, Begin sent additional Israeli tanks rumbling into the heights area, which is separated from the Syrians by a neutral zone occupied by a 1,250-man United Nations peace-keeping force.

In just one day, Begin had rammed through a legislative measure that normally would have required at least three days of deliberation. He had opportunistically decided to use events in Poland, which preoccupied Washington, as a cloak for his action, in much the same way that in 1956 the Hungarian crisis offered Israel a convenient distraction when it joined Britain and France in an attempt to seize the Suez Canal. Indeed, Begin's legislative blitzkrieg came less than a day after Secretary of State Alexander Haig had been forced to cancel a seven-nation tour that included a brief visit to Tel Aviv, in order to attend to the Polish crisis.

The difference with Suez was that in 1956 the U.S., which had not been con-

sulted, brought pressure to bear on the aggressors to give up their territorial spoils. This time around, it looked as if nothing similar could be achieved. The U.S. joined in a unanimous U.N. Security Council resolution that declared the Israeli action to be "null and void" and demanded that Begin's government rescind its legislation. The resolution was not expected to have any effect, but the Council will take up the matter again no later than Jan. 5, at which time a Syrian push for more definite sanctions is likely. Most observers feel that the U.S. is unlikely to support such specific measures.

There is no denying the strategic importance of the Golan Heights to Israel or, for that matter, to Syria *(see map)*. Rising to 7,297 ft. above sea level, the heights overlook the fertile Galilee Valley, one of the country's principal breadbaskets. On the Syrian side, they merge into a level plateau—ideal tank country—that stretches 50 miles to Damascus. In 1967 the Syrians used the heights to rain fire on the Israelis at the onset of the Six-Day War. Since Jerusalem's military occupation of the heights, some 6,000 Israelis in 31 settlements have joined the 13,000 Arabs still living there.

Israeli extremists have argued for years that the heights should be annexed. A bill to do so was initiated more than a year ago by firebrand Knesset Member Geula Cohen. But in December 1980, Begin's Cabinet voted 15 to 2 against promoting the measure for fear of adverse world reaction. After the Prime Minister's cliffhanging election victory of last June, however, the Cabinet's mood began to change in a hawkish direction. Golan annexation had been one of the planks in Begin's election campaign, and, to fashion his two-seat majority in the 120-seat Knesset, Begin included in his coalition right-wing and religious nationalist elements that could be expected to lobby strongly for such action. Begin was finally provoked, or so he told the Knesset, by external factors. One was Begin's feeling that U.S. Special Envoy Philip Habib had failed to make further progress in defusing the seven-month armed stalemate between Israel and Syria over the presence of Syrian SA-6 missiles in eastern Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. Another was the failure of last month's Arab League summit in Fez, Morocco, at which Syria led the hard-line attack on the eight-point Middle East peace plan proposed by Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Fahd.

Begin claimed to quote closed-door remarks made at the meeting by Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam, who urged his brother Arabs to "wait 100 years or more, until Israel is weakened" and then destroy the country completely. Israeli action was intended to make Syria think differently. Said a Begin aide: "Begin thought that we must convince the Syrians that time was not necessarily on their side."

The Israeli Prime Minister apparently pondered all those factors two weeks ago, as he lay in an eighth-floor ward of Jerusalem's Hadassah Hospital. On Dec. 10, he secretly ordered Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir to prepare the Golan Heights legislation. When word came that Haig would visit Israel, any notion of presenting the bill was temporarily shelved. But when Haig suddenly canceled, the opportunity once again loomed.

The night before his Knesset appearance, according to a close aide, Begin hardly slept. In the small hours he telephoned Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and asked him to come to the hospital at 8 a.m. Half an hour before that meeting, Begin also called Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, asking him to attend. "Has something happened?" Sharon asked. Said Begin: "No, but something is going to happen today."

The trio hastily agreed that a parliamentary coup was possible. One tactical advantage they saw was that Opposition Leader Shimon Peres and his predecessor as Labor Party leader, Yitzhak Rabin, were both out of the country. Begin decided to leave the hospital and called a full Cabinet meeting at his home at noon. As a precaution, however, he decided to disarm potential opponents by summoning a seven-member mini-Cabinet, composed of the heads of his coalition parties, to meet 90 minutes earlier. When the full Cabinet finally assembled, all members—with the exception of Energy Minister Yitzhak Berman—supported Begin.

Haig learned of Begin's thunderbolt on his way home from Europe and angrily ordered the State Department to issue a protest. Back in Washington, he made the message doubly clear by calling Israeli Ambassador Ephraim Evron on the carpet for an hour and a quarter and declaring that he considered the action a personal betrayal. Even more vocal was Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, who on ABC's *Good Morning America* said the move was "provocative and destabilizing and must be changed." On the other hand, President Reagan seemed to downplay the action at a Thursday press conference, where he merely "deplored" the Israeli move.

In Western Europe, governments also seemed to be striving in their reaction for a balance between outrage and moderation. Though France's Cheysson declared that the Golan Heights legislation "cannot be justified on either juridical or political grounds," he added that the move would not affect French participation in the multilateral peace-keeping force that will oversee the Sinai Peninsula after Israel returns the remainder of that territory to Egypt in April 1982. The same attitude was taken by Cheysson's British counterpart, Lord Carrington.

The impending return of the Sinai also weighed heavily on Egypt's Mubarak. Government-controlled newspapers in Cairo excoriated Begin's action. But, as most analysts see it, Mubarak's fledgling regime could not survive a failure to regain the Sinai. Thus, Egyptian and Israeli negotiating teams will resume their talks on Jan. 10 concerning the second phase of the Camp David agreement, involving the basis of autonomy for Palestinian residents of the occupied West Bank and Gaza. Mubarak still intends to go ahead with a planned visit to Israel next February.

Clearly, Begin's gambit was as shrewd in its timing as it was reckless in its conception. None of the Arab nations, including Syria, is in a position to threaten Israel militarily. Nor did any country that supports Israel wish to do anything that might forestall the return of the Sinai, the most visible sign that life still remains in the Camp David process. But in tightening Israel's grip on the Golan Heights, the unpredictable Begin had once again flouted world opinion and undermined the already slim chances for a lasting peace in the Middle East. ***—By George Russell. Reported by David Aikman/Jerusalem and William Stewart/Beirut***

Spirit of the revolution: Gaddafi amid the Tripoli high rises

LIBYA

Heeling to Brother Gaddafi

A revolution guided by the Green Book, sweetened with oil

Only days after President Reagan called upon all U.S. citizens to leave Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's Libya, the first of some 1,500 Americans expected to depart by the end of next month were dutifully queuing up at the Tripoli International Airport for the flight home. Despite well-publicized U.S. reports that Gaddafi had dispatched hit men to assassinate Reagan, few believed that they were in any real danger of Libyan retaliation. For the occasion, Gaddafi eased usually tight restrictions on journalists to invite members of the foreign press to hear him, presumably, denounce Washington's claims. TIME *Correspondent Jonathan Beaty flew to Tripoli for a firsthand look at the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (state of the masses), as the nation has been renamed. His report:*

The press conference, or rather the non-conference, was vintage Gaddafi. After two days of waiting, anxious revolutionary committeemen herded the press out of our hotels for a breathtaking, Libyan-style drive through the narrow streets of Tripoli. Lights blinking and horns blaring, the wild caravan raced to a walled compound where soldiers wielding submachine guns waved us through a gate flanked by two Russian T-72 tanks. For the fifth time since my arrival I was thoroughly searched. Inside the handsome government offices with beautifully crafted wooden Arabic arches, television crews set up their equipment on priceless rugs. Then a top Gaddafi aide, sporting a natty pinstripe suit under immaculate Arab robes, announced that the interview had been canceled. The presumed reason: the media-wise Gaddafi, who appeared briefly, wearing a European-cut suit with a British overcoat flung over his shoulders, realized that the crisis in Poland had pushed him off the front pages and evening news broadcasts in Europe and America.

It is difficult for Westerners to grasp the extent to which Gaddafi is the sole spirit and voice of a revolution that in twelve years has transformed this North African desert wasteland. In 1969, armed with Islamic zeal and a near fanatical belief that he was the heir to Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser's pan-Arabic nationalism, Gaddafi and eleven other young officers deposed the conservative King Idris in a bloodless coup. Gaddafi has since established iron political control of his countrymen, largely by spreading Libya's abundant oil wealth among them. Says Fouad Zlitni, a true believer: "The people decide everything, but it is the thoughts of Brother Gaddafi which guide us on to the proper path."

Young Libyans hold aloft image of Gaddafi

"His thoughts guide us to the proper path."

Those thoughts are enshrined in the Green Book, a three-volume work of revolutionary philosophy penned by Gaddafi. Cryptic excerpts are plastered all over Tripoli. "Representation is a falsification of democracy . . . In need, freedom is latent . . . The party system aborts democracy." In the airport, the traveler is inundated with illuminated signs in Arabic and English that read: NO DEMOCRACY WITHOUT POPULAR CONGRESS. Portraits of Gaddafi are everywhere, in private homes, musty old hotels, on billboards in service stations. Pointedly, there are also anti-American posters depicting Libyans shoving a spear through the head of a bleeding pig clothed in Uncle Sam's red-white-and-blue suit, with doves soaring aloft carrying little Green Books.

Tripoli is a city of crude buildings constructed of flawed, hand-poured cement. The balconies of many newly built, 20-story "people's" apartment buildings are draped with laundry hanging out to dry. TV antennas bristle from small, walled houses and buildings. Dusty new automobiles line roads where they have been abandoned after they ceased functioning. In a country with an estimated population of 3 million, some 500,000 of whom are foreign workers in search of the Libyan El Dorado, there are few signs of civil control or even of traffic lights. The evidence of inefficiency is staggering. Ships in the port of Tripoli wait to off-load their cargo at crumbling concrete piers. Acres of new tractors near the harbor await unscheduled delivery to unknown recipients. Last month, say Libyans, it was Land Rovers; before that, Japanese cars lined up for miles.

Near the green domes and lush gardens of Tripoli's People's Palace, the seat of Gaddafi's power, whole streets of ancient shops are boarded up. The centuries-old *suq*, or bazaar, was closed this year when Gaddafi banned all private enterprise. Consumer goods, from Japanese TVs and stereo systems to gourmet food, are now available in massive state-owned supermarkets.

Theoretically, Libya is ruled from the bottom up by a bewildering array of people's committees, which formulate policy on such issues as agriculture, health and housing. Final governing responsibility resides with the General People's Congress. But in 1977, stunned by popular apathy, Gaddafi cultivated "revolutionary committees" to oversee the confused network of assemblies and lead them "to the right way." In effect, the revolutionary committees are Gaddafi's ideological

Coming Home

There's a light in the window
beckoning us and our children home for Christmas.
The light says welcome; the light says love.
On this Christmas day there will be more lights and more love.

. . .

As on that first Christmas, in the morning of the world,
that ancient star in the sky still carries the same message:
Come home...come home.

Christmas is Forever

BARRON HILTON *Barron Hilton*

that has made some $12 million under subcontracts with Schiavone. The FBI has evidence showing unusually close links between Schiavone officials, including Donovan, and Masselli. Masselli had a preferential (but not necessarily illegal) arrangement under which he was to be paid 7½% of the cost of his company's work for Schiavone "off the top," as his firm's profit. He collected some $250,000 in such fees for subway work and is suing Schiavone for about $630,000 more. The Schiavone company also loaned Masselli $200,000 to start the subway job.

Over the past three years, Masselli was the target of FBI agents, wiretappers, stakeouts, prosecutors and federal grand juries. These investigations produced reports of an alleged $5,000 payoff to New York City Democratic Congressman Mario Biaggi. The money was said to have come from a paving contractor who was seeking dumping privileges at a city landfill. Biaggi denied any such deal, saying: "It didn't happen." Similarly, Masselli is alleged to have sought the help of Carmine De Sapio, 73, a former New York City Democratic leader, in leasing a dump site from the New York State Metropolitan Transportation Authority. A man claiming to be an intermediary told Masselli that the help of De Sapio would cost about $20,000. De Sapio refused to comment on the matter. ■

Allen's Allies

Friends throw him a lunch

It was part pep rally, part gesture of defiance. One day last week, 415 friends of embattled National Security Adviser Richard Allen gathered for a $30-a-person lunch in his honor at Washington's Mayflower Hotel. Master of Ceremonies Edwin Feulner, president of the Heritage Foundation, praised Allen as "a beacon of hope and light for all of us."

M. Stanton Evans, a contributing editor of *Human Events* magazine, drew cheers when he noted that Allen had not joined "the George Bush apparatus" in the 1980 G.O.P. primaries, and added about Allen: "This makes you wonder how he got a job in this Administration." Reflecting the feeling that the press had vastly exaggerated Allen's alleged conflicts of interest, the Rev. Norris W. Sydnor, a Baptist minister from near by in Maryland, used the invocation to declare: "We think about the free press and sometimes the threat that it has on our freedom in America."

One oddity: of the six supporters who signed the 1,400 invitations, only Feulner attended. The no-shows: Brewer Joseph Coors, Financier Justin Dart, former Treasury Secretary William Simon, the Moral Majority's Rev. Jerry Falwell and Columnist William Buckley. Dart was in the hospital, and the others said they had previous engagements. ■

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Those Evergreen Echoes

DIRCK HALSTEAD

The Reagans with children of White House staffers at pre-Christmas festivities

In his studio at Chadds Ford, Pa., with a model of the White House before him, Jamie Wyeth invoked the gift of fancy that runs in his veins, and with his brush brought snow to canvas. Meteorological records were shattered. The giant flakes covered the fountain on the South Lawn and blotted out the driveways. Cars disappeared. Falling snow hushed the city and drew a purple night around it. Wyeth stilled the melancholy world with his lovely strokes and brought the stars out one by one on Christmas Eve. He lighted the window of the Reagans' bedroom with an artist's alchemy of oil and watercolor, a small golden rectangle of warmth and hope. It is a reminder that joy and thanks, for the moment, can overwhelm chaos and brutality, and the simple human ritual of a midnight prayer or a final package wrapping can replace those rumbles of nations marching.

Wyeth first sketched the White House last fall, as he sat cross-legged on the lawn. The finished painting became the Reagans' Christmas card this year. That token of good will to men is not a new phenomenon in the federal city, where trouble is the main business. Many Presidents have turned to Christmas festivities with a special fervor, to dispel for a few precious hours the gloom that usually presses in. Back in 1941, when war had come and news of defeat was the daily Washington fare, Franklin Roosevelt brought a guest to the South Portico on Christmas Eve. Winston Churchill looked out over thousands of troubled people who had gathered on the lawn with a special understanding. "Let the children have their night of fun and laughter," he said. "Let the gifts of Father Christmas delight their hearts; let us share to the full in their unstinted pleasure, before we turn again to the stern tasks in the year that lies before us."

So it will be in the Reagan White House, where 19 members of the family and close friends will come for Christmas dinner. To accompany the turkey, the President will get his favorite sweet potatoes with marshmallows and even some monkey bread, a thick, spongy concoction he relishes. The White House is laced with vivid red, green, gold and white decorations. There is a giant bunch of mistletoe in the foyer, a 19½-ft. Douglas fir from Spartansburg, Pa., and the gingerbread house in the State Dining Room has a jelly bean path to the door.

The halls of the White House echo with music almost every day and night, as visiting choirs take turns singing for the huge crowds that walk in awed silence through the candlelit state rooms. Musty portraits of Presidents from Christmases past have been garlanded with evergreens: even Chester Arthur with his mutton chops got an injection of cheer.

Ghosts are about, like that of the indomitable Abigail Adams, who was so determined to have a Christmas in the unfinished White House in 1800 that 20 cords of wood were burned in all the fireplaces to heat the bleak building. Jefferson, one legend has it, was so moved by the Christmas gaiety five years later that he got out his violin and played a few tunes.

The grim news from Poland may intrude into the intimate moments of White House life this week. But Christmas, with its echoing cry for brotherhood, its pleas for peace on earth, is a necessary annual nourishment for the presidency, just as important in some ways as the tax receipts. The stage is magnificently set. Word has it that Ronald Reagan will add to White House cheer by singing a carol or two, and Nancy has told her household that there will be snow. The flakes that Jamie Wyeth created in October have been waiting around for the cue.

The pleasure is back.

BARCLAY

Warning The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Freezing Moments in History

Photojournalists, aided by television, have come into their own again

▸ Young John Kennedy Jr. saluting the flag during his father's funeral procession.

▸ The South Viet Nam chief of police putting a bullet through the head of a Viet Cong prisoner.

▸ Lyndon Johnson lifting his shirt to show the scar from his gallstone operation.

▸ A gang of assassins running toward a Cairo reviewing stand to gun down Anwar Sadat.

The very mention of such images, as familiar to this generation as favorite lines of song or poetry were to those of the past, is enough to start a slide show deep within the brain, in those mysterious regions where memories are stored and dreams begin. More and more, history is recorded through pictures, and in the past two decades there has scarcely been an event worth noting that has not been photographed from a dozen different angles.

Centuries from now those images will be as vivid and immediate as they are today. "A powerful picture reaches into your heart and just rips it out," says Photographer Eddie Adams. People will always have to hold fast to their hearts when they see, as if it were happening before them, Robert Kennedy bleeding on the floor of a hotel hallway or a spectral Neil Armstrong taking his first tentative step onto the moon.

It will be as if we ourselves were able to witness great Caesar's shock as he reels before the daggers inside the Roman Senate, Columbus' triumphant smile as he spies the dim outline of the New World, Washington's hope and anxiety as he crosses the icy Delaware to surprise the Hessians in their Christmas celebrations. "Can you imagine having had thousands of candid and honest pictures of Charlemagne, Kublai Khan or Abraham Lincoln?" asks Yoichi Okamoto, who was official photographer to Lyndon Johnson. Okamoto's excitement is catching. Photojournalism has known many great days since the first news shot 139 years ago, a panoramic view of the destruction caused by the great Hamburg fire of 1842; and the glories of the original LIFE, the greatest of all picture magazines, may never be surpassed. Despite the wonders of television, the still news photograph retains its special magic. "It is sometimes thought that the arrival of the moving picture made the still image obsolete," says Harold Evans, editor of the London *Times*. "I believe, quite to the contrary, that the still image has never been more powerful. It is a moment frozen in time; it preserves forever a finite fraction of the infinite time of the universe."

Television, in fact, has created a visual generation that never seems to tire of an arresting image. Viewers who watch an event on the nightly news want to see it again, to study it at their leisure in newspapers the next day and magazines the next week. "Television is going too fast. It doesn't lodge in the psyche the way a still does," says Sean Callahan, editor of *American Photographer*. "TV can be like a slap in the face; it stings for a while and then goes away. But a still picture is like a stern lecture; it stays with you." An NBC television camera, for example, filmed the South Viet Nam police chief executing a Viet Cong prisoner. But it was Eddie Adams' still photograph that branded the senses and intensified opposition to the war. Boston's WNAC-TV recorded the sad drama of an antibusing rally in which a white man used the Stars and Stripes as a spear to attack a black man. But it was Stanley Forman's single, Pulitzer-prizewinning still in the *Herald American* that aroused national outrage and disgust. "I got the same stuff as Forman, but it didn't have the same impact," admits former TV Cameraman Richie Suskin.

In the past decade newspapers have given more space and more attention to pictures that tell a story. One day last year the once gray New York *Times* ran 160 photographs in a 96-page issue. Journalists specializing in pictures and design are suddenly turning up in the profession's management positions. At the same time, magazines like TIME and *Newsweek* have gone to great effort to illustrate news events with more and better color photography. "The picture has become an absolute necessity," says Hubert Henrotte, a co-founder of the Gamma-Liaison and Sygma picture agencies. "There has never been such a demand for photos to illustrate articles."

Thus for photographers, opportunities have never been so

big or so varied—nor fees so high. Nakram Gadel Karim's photos of Sadat's murder brought him almost $50,000; Sebastiao Salgado Jr. earned an estimated $150,000 to $200,000 for his pictures of the attempted assassination of President Reagan. Over a year's time, respected photographers can make anywhere from $40,000 to $100,000. Although a beginner may have to scrounge to earn as little as $15,000, young people have found news photography a particular magnet: there are an estimated 20,000 newspaper photographers in the U.S. today, compared with half that number a decade ago. In much of the world there are almost as many cameras as people, moreover, and amateurs have captured some of the most important events of the past several years: the shooting of Pope John Paul II, a photograph that became TIME's cover, May 25, 1981; the fiery fall of a 727 over San Diego; and the collapse of the Teton Dam in Idaho.

Except for occasional special assignments, newspaper photographers usually work a specific city or region. For them, a sure sense of direction and a fast car are as important as f-stops. Forman, who keeps a crackling police radio under his pillow, won back-to-back Pulitzer Prizes by making sure he was in the

right place at the right time. "My luck," he says, "is getting there."

The best magazine photographers go everywhere, shoot everything. For the most part they are represented by one of the six major agencies—Sygma, Magnum, Gamma-Liaison, Sipa, Black Star and Contact—which, for a fee (usually 40% to 50% of sales), play mother and salesman, lining up buyers throughout the world. Most of the agencies have their headquarters in Paris, and Paris is also home base for many photojournalists. "Geographically, it's the ideal place to be," says Robert Pledge, president of Contact. "It's halfway between Washington and Moscow, Hamburg and Madrid."

Good photographers are among the last survivors of a more swashbuckling era of journalism. As the news has become more complicated, a good reporter does much of his best work at his desk, sifting through piles of research to understand and make understandable to his readers the likes of SALT and MIRV and the skirmishes of the Battle of the Budget. A photographer, on the other hand, must be in the heat of the action, whether it is a war or a natural disaster—or a budget meeting. "If you are a reporter, you can be behind the front line and still get your job done," says Alfred Eisenstaedt, who was one of the ornaments of LIFE's golden era. "But a photographer has to be right there."

That kind of involvement requires a special temperament. Occasionally photographers are a little crazy, and almost always they are obsessed. Often too they are pushy and, by some standards, obnoxious. Freelancer Matthew Naythons was so upset by the conduct of his colleagues during Rosalynn Carter's 1979 visit to refugee camps in Thailand that he simply abandoned the assignment. "The conduct of the photographers was morally reprehensible," he recalls with anger. "They were literally trampling dying babies to get better shots." Frequently, however, they are also brave and daring, in an old-fashioned way that is rare nowadays. In Viet Nam, some 30 cameramen were killed or listed as missing covering history's most photographed war. "More photojournalists died than generals," says Magnum Executive Raymond Depardon. Many of them took their credo from Robert Capa, the legendary photographer best remembered for his stunning LIFE shots of the troops landing on D-day. "If your pictures aren't good enough," he used to say, "you aren't close enough." In 1954, Capa became the first photographer killed during the Indo-China War.

But even the most reckless photographers draw a line between the acceptable and the unacceptable risk. "When I get hit, I hope it's because I'm unlucky, not stupid," says Naythons, who has been known to wear a bulletproof vest. "I'm never worried about the bullet with my name on it. I'm worried about the one that says, 'To Whom It May Concern.' "

With the slightest prodding, photographers will brag about their exploits and their cunning in lengthy and often colorful detail. But some famous pictures, like Adams' shot of the Saigon execution, are totally unplanned. Then working for the Associated Press, he went with an NBC crew to a pagoda where fighting had been reported. The South Vietnamese had just recaptured the building, but as the newsmen were leaving, they spotted a young prisoner being led away, his arms tied behind his back. An officer, whom they later identified as Brigadier General Nguyen Ngoc Loan, suddenly appeared and reached for his pistol. Adams, fast on the draw himself, raised his camera and automatically clicked the shutter. He did not fully realize what he had until a colleague wired, "This is the greatest picture of the Viet Nam War!" Or as Evans now explains: "That was the most important gunshot of the war, not because it was heard round the world, but because it was seen round the world."

The best pictures are usually those that show what Freelancer Henry Grossman calls "revealing juxtapositions." With advanced electronic cameras, which automatically focus and determine light settings, almost anyone can film action: a fire, a raging crowd or an erupting volcano. Only someone with a special eye can catch those odd and revealing juxtapositions that give meaning to the obvious and jejune. The portraits of an exploding Mount St. Helens were awesomely beautiful; but it was San Jose *Mercury News* Photographer George Wedding's aerial picture of Andy, an eleven-year-old who had been asphyxiated by volcanic ash as he lay in the back of a pickup, that conveyed the awful power of that awful beauty.

In a sense, photojournalists today are competing against all the news pictures that have ever been taken. Their ability to bring back images of war, disaster and suffering has had, over time, a desensitizing effect. Says Floris de Bonneville, Gamma's picture editor in Paris: "The real revolution in photojournalism is in the readers' fatigue. They are no longer shocked or surprised by anything." Contact Partner David Burnett, 34, understood this when he went to Cambodia to photograph refugees. "It is easy to make pictures of people starving," he says. "I wanted to take a picture that people would look at again." His shot of a weary and resigned Cambodian refugee holding an infant was an expressionist masterpiece that was judged the best photograph in 1980 by the World Press Photo Association.

In the very early days of photojournalism, picture takers often trailed behind writers, like baggage carriers in the African bush. "Just look over our heads, Mr. Secretary," a cameraman once called up to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who was standing with other diplomats on a balcony. "We always do," replied Acheson. Now the roles are more nearly equal. "When I hear snooty remarks about photojournalists, I think of one of their greatest achievements—objective presentation of war and its consequences," says Evans. "Their pictures have told many truths, and they have been prepared to risk everything to capture an image and hold it fast forever." In war and peace, photojournalists are recording life and death, joy and sadness. History now has eyes as well as ears.

—By Gerald Clarke.

Reported by Elizabeth Rudolph and Janice C. Simpson/New York

For the photographer 1981 offered dramatic opportunities to capture history on the wing: assassination attempts, a royal wedding, riots and, happily, the comic and the comely too. On the following pages, TIME presents a gallery of the year's best pictures.

Photograph of Columbia launching by Mathew Naythons—Gamma/Liaison for TIME

1981

IMAGES

"A in't no way you can describe it."

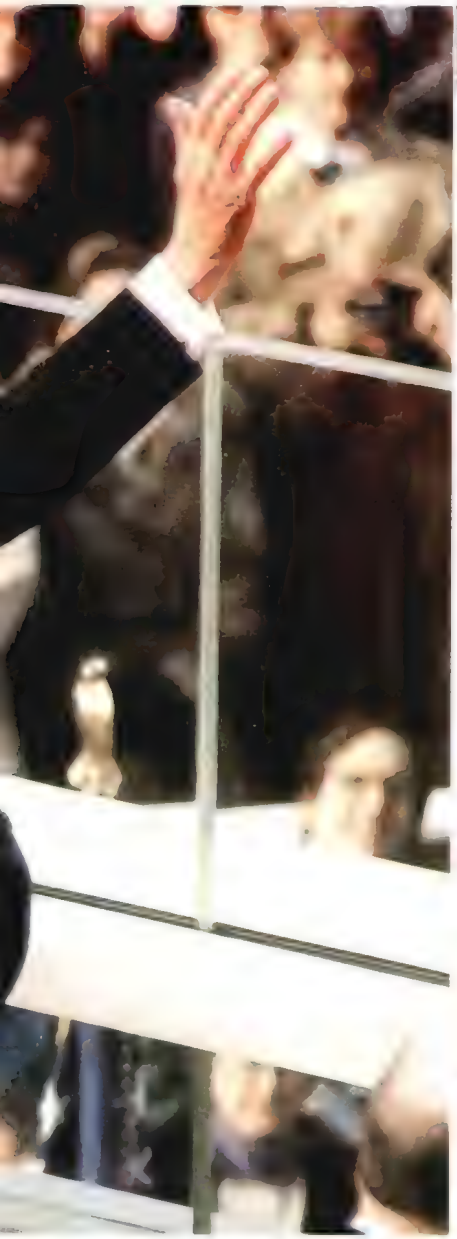
—Astronaut Robert Crippen, copilot on the space shuttle *Columbia's* maiden flight

"We're the new folks in town. Now we're in charge."

—White House secretary after the Reagan inauguration

"Come on, everybody. This is a time to be happy."

—Jimmy Carter leaving town



> "It's good to be out of Khomeini-land.
>
> —A former U.S. hostage, one of 52 freed from Iran minutes after Reagan took office
>
> "We have rubbed America's nose in the dirt.
>
> —Iranian official

"Oh, my God, it's happening!"

—White House Aide Michael Deaver as gunfire cut down President Reagan, Press Secretary James Brady and Washington Policeman Thomas Delahanty

"On March 30, I made my love known to her in my own unique way."

—John Hinckley, referring to the unrequited passion for Actress Jodie Foster that led him to shoot the President

"Why did they do it?"

—Pope John Paul II as he was rushed into surgery after being seriously wounded in St. Peter's Square

"I have killed the Pope."

—Turkish Terrorist Mehmet Ali Agca in a message he left in his Rome hotel room just before his assassination attempt

DIRCK HALSTEAD

AON KRONDS

FOTAM

"Israel will intensify the war against the terrorists.

—Israeli defense official on eve of Beirut bombing that left at least 200 dead, 600 wounded

If we're not careful, we're going to wind up like Lebanon.

—Moderate Protestant in troubled Northern Ireland

Politics is like a cut flower, quickly withered.

—Socialist Leader François Mitterrand before defeating Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to become President of France

Iran has become a horror movie.

—Tehran lawyer following the killing of 150 Islamic Republican Party leaders in the bombing of their headquarters

The veneer of civilization is very thin.

—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as the worst rioting in a century set British cities ablaze

There is a fire in the country.

—Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa as strikes and shortages battered Poland

> Faith means that a man should regard any disaster simply as a fate-determined blow which must be endured.
>
> —Egypt's President Anwar Sadat in his autobiography

> I want this dog, this tyrant Sadat.
>
> —Egyptian First Lieut. Khaled Ahmed Shawki Islambuli just before he and several accomplices murdered Sadat

"Everyone in Europe wanted a pacifist Germany. Well, now they have one.

—Munich student on antinuclear movement

Only by disarmament can we properly protect our people.

—British Labor Party Leader Michael Foot addressing demonstrators

Talking to the superpowers about disarmament is like talking to drug dealers about stopping drug deliveries.

—Volkmar Deile, secretary of West German peace group

From Sicily to Scandinavia, no to NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

—Placard at Rome rally

If the Europeans want the American nuclear umbrella folded up, they presumably know the consequences. We can't graft backbone.

—U.S. diplomat"

len in Frieden
stoppt US-Atom-
ra Keten!
BLOB
AUT

NO
CRUISE
NO

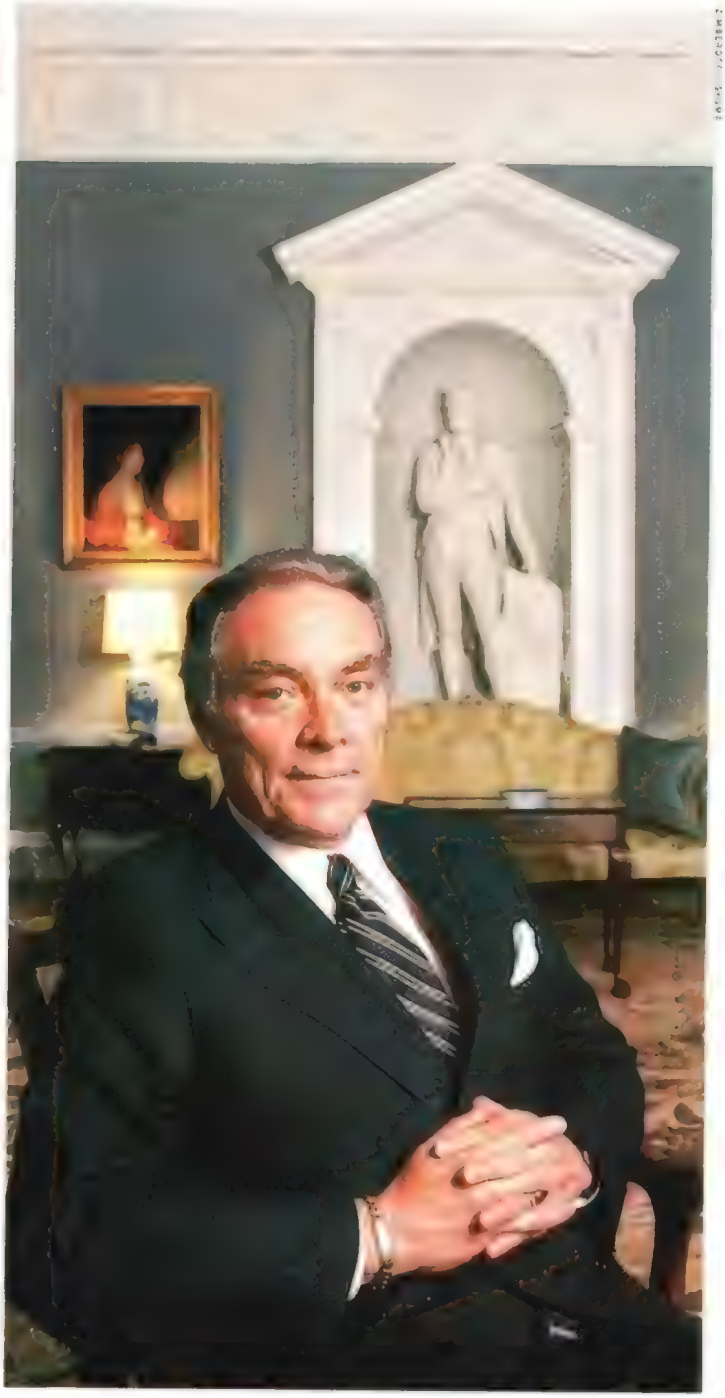
PACE
PACE
MONDO

"All couples on their wedding day are 'royal couples.'

—Robert Runcie, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana

"Diana, stop stealing the show."

—Prince Charles to the Princess of Wales



"None of us really understands what's going on with all these numbers.

—Budget Director David Stockman

I resent the inference that there is something less than aboveboard.

—National Security Adviser Richard Allen on a $1,000 honorarium

I haven't changed my style in 20 years . . . and that style is to get mad when things go wrong.

—Alexander Haig

You are one of nine people. You aren't subservient to anyone.

—Retired Justice Potter Stewart to Sandra O'Connor, Supreme Court's first woman

We're turning out moral revolutionaries.

—The Rev. Jerry Falwell, founder and president of Moral Majority

This is quite a planeload.

—Secretary of State Haig on the presence of former Presidents Carter, Ford and Nixon aboard the jet bound for Anwar Sadat's funeral

"The structural integrity and safety of the building had been assured by the architects, the contractor and in subsequent building inspections.

—Hyatt Corp. official in a letter to Missouri's Governor after the collapse of two walkways at Kansas City's Hyatt Regency Hotel that left 113 dead, 186 injured

We're going to get that little bug before that little bug gets my poll ratings down any further.

—California's Governor Jerry Brown during the Medfly infestation that threatened his state's $14 billion agricultural industry

Obviously, the property is not worth as much as it was this time last year.

—Florida appraiser after the earth opened up in the town of Winter Park, creating a huge sinkhole that swallowed trees, cars and buildings"

My goal was to make the team.

—Fernando Valenzuela, the Dodgers' rookie wonder

You are the pits of the world! Vultures! Trash!

—Tennis Ace John McEnroe at Wimbledon, addressing (in order) umpire, fans, reporters

If someone has to be the winningest coach, it might as well be me.

—Alabama's Bear Bryant after record 315th victory

A game, a teaching aid, a sport and a piece of art.

—Ernö Rubik, on his cube

I can make something to wear out of anything.

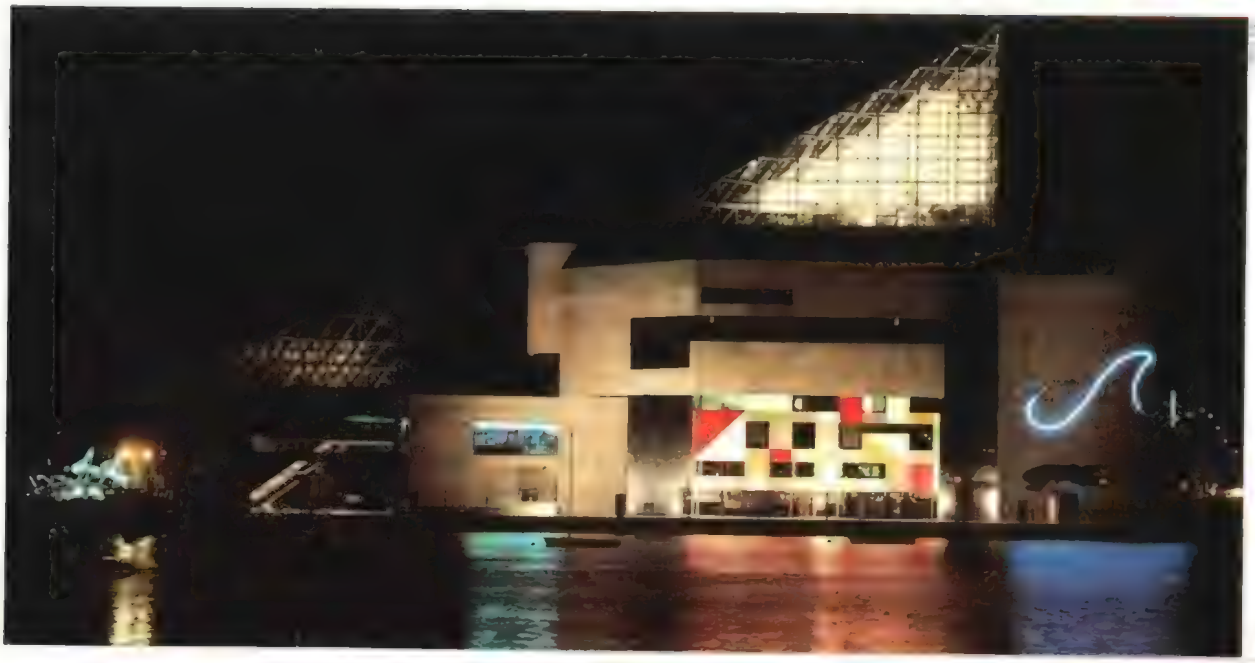
—Designer Norma Kamali

I've always said, 'I'll never do this again.' I never meant it.

—Mick Jagger on U.S. tour

The American city isn't dying. It's being reborn.

—Developer James Rouse on Baltimore's Harborplace, site of the National Aquarium



"A bit of sex and a bit of innocence; distinction yet the warmth of youth."

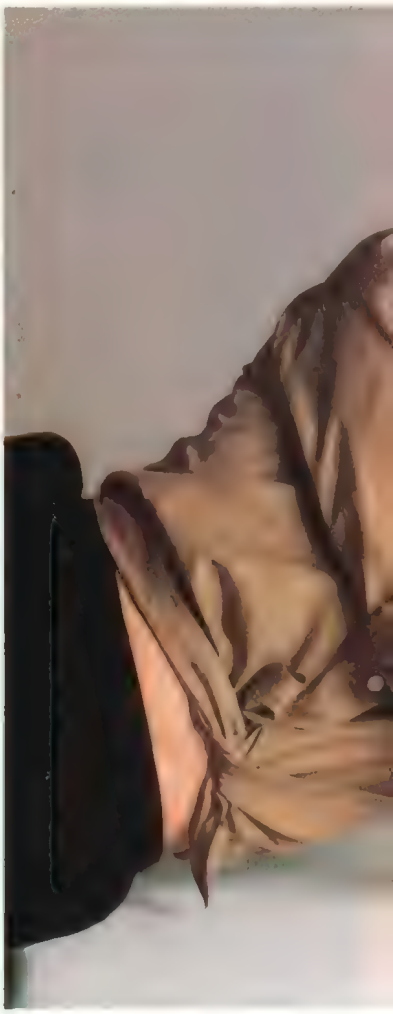
—Models' Agent John Casablancas on Brooke Shields

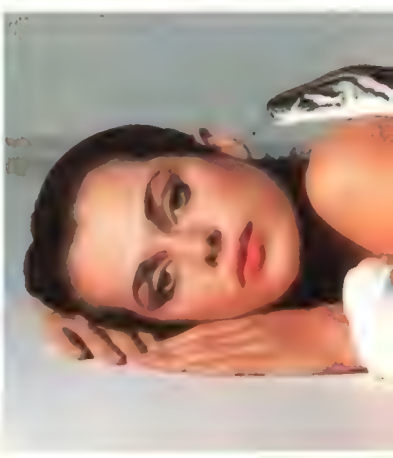
"We haven't yet begun to see the richness of her talent."

—Producer Joseph Papp on Actress Meryl Streep

"I will do whatever the role requires."

—Actress Nastassia Kinski, here posing with a python for a poster by Photographer Richard Avedon



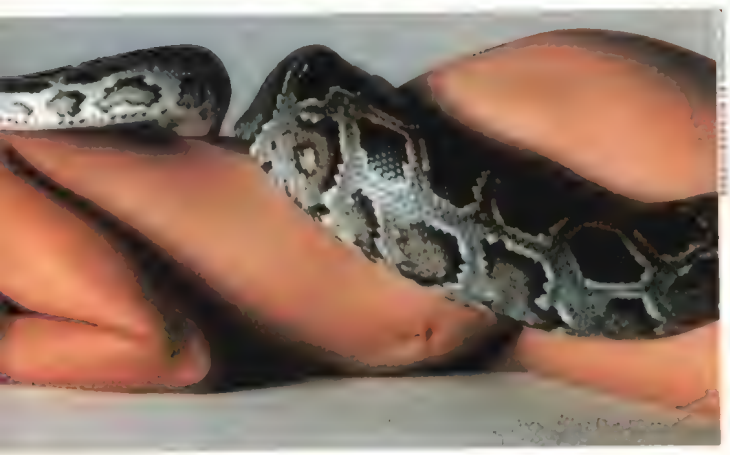


Anarchy is running through our society, as it did in Dickens' time.

—Actor Roger Rees, star of *Nicholas Nickleby*

What, we ask, is life
Without a touch of
Poetry in it?

—Kevin Kline as the Pirate King in Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Pirates of Penzance*



Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health
15 mg. "tar", 1.2 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May '81
There's only one way to play it...
Wherever the music is hot, the taste is Kool. Because there's only one sensation this refreshing.
20
KOOL
Filter Kings

IMAGES: Farewell

Omar Bradley, 88, first chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and last of the five-star generals, whose 69-year military career was the longest in U.S. history. An inconspicuous, Washington-based lieutenant colonel with no combat experience at the start of World War II, he led U.S. forces in some of the most decisive campaigns of the war and was known as the "G.I.'s general" because of his genuine concern for the men he commanded.

Moshe Dayan, 66, soldier-statesman who was an architect of Israel's military victories in 1956 and 1967 and also, while Foreign Minister from 1977 to 1979, of the Camp David accords that led to peace with Egypt. As Defense Minister in 1973, he was accused of leaving Israel vulnerable to surprise attack in the October War. Always something of a maverick, Dayan, who lost an eye fighting the Vichy French in Syria in 1941, became a passionate advocate of coexistence between Jew and Arab.

Will Durant, 96, Pulitzer-prizewinning historian and "biographer of mankind." His monumental, eleven-volume *The Story of Civilization*, one of the most popular history series ever published, was written with his wife of 68 years, **Ariel,** 83, who died just 13 days earlier.

William Holden, 63, whose rugged good looks and raspy baritone graced more than 50 films, including *Sunset Boulevard, Picnic, The Bridge on the River Kwai* and *Network*. He won an Oscar in 1953 for his hard-bitten prisoner of war in *Stalag 17*.

Joe Louis, 66, the "Brown Bomber," one of the best heavyweights ever, whose thunderous punch leveled the likes of James J. Braddock, Billy Conn and Tony Galento. In a memorable vengeance match with racist overtones that was over in a lightning 2 min. 4 sec. of the first round, he crushed Germany's Max Schmeling in 1938. As champ from 1937 to 1949, he defended his title a record 25 times, but never pocketed the monster purses common today and spent years in debt.

Bob Marley, 36, Jamaican prince of reggae, the distinctive, pulsing Caribbean blend of calypso and soul music that carries a weighty message of black pride, peace and Rastafarian religion. Marley rose from the slums of Kingston to become a national hero and international star.

Robert Moses, 92, master builder and powerbroker of New York City and State for 50 years, whose monuments include 35 highways, twelve bridges, more than 2.5 million acres of park land, Lincoln Center and the 1964-65 World's Fair. His vision inspired the reshaping—some said misshaping—of urban and suburban space across America.

Anwar Sadat, 62, President of Egypt, who led his country to war against Israel in 1973, then launched a peace initiative climaxed by one of the most dramatic gestures ever made by a head of state, his "sacred mission" to Jerusalem in 1977 to proclaim his willingness "to live in permanent peace and justice." The 1978 Camp David accords made him the only Arab leader to make peace with the Jewish state, but also made him anathema to many of his countrymen and culminated in his assassination.

William Saroyan, 72, prolific Armenian-American writer whose energetic works, notably the 1939 Pulitzer-prize play *The Time of Your Life* and the 1942 novel *The Human Comedy*, celebrated the vitality and diversity of the American spirit.

Albert Speer, 76, Adolf Hitler's architect and builder of monuments to the Third Reich who, as Minister of Armaments and War Production, used slave labor to keep the German war machine running. The only Nazi leader to admit his guilt at the Nuremberg war-crimes trials, he served 20 years before his release in 1966.

Lowell Thomas, 89, peripatetic journalist and pioneering broadcaster who wrote more than 50 books about his globetrotting experiences. His lecture tours and movie narrations, but mostly his 50 years as a radio newscaster, caused him, as he grandiloquently put it, to be "heard by more people than any voice in history."

Omar Torrijos Herrera, 52, an ebullient soldier who, after leading a 1968 coup, became Panama's *de facto* strongman, though he served as official chief of government only from 1972 to 1978. A mystery figure of no known ideology but possessing formidable political ability, he employed shrewd negotiating skills and a talent for manipulating volatile nationalist sentiment to bring about the 1977-78 treaties restoring the Panama Canal Zone to his country's sovereignty.

Natalie Wood, 43, who, in a career that began at age 4, acted in 45 films, received three Academy Award nominations. Growing into a wholesome sensuousness, she became one of the few child actresses to make the transition to adult stardom.

Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, 79, Roman Catholic Primate of Poland for more than 30 years, fiery advocate of the faith and defiant symbol of Polish nationalism under Soviet-dominated Communist regimes. An astute political infighter and vigorous defender of social and political rights, he mastered a precarious form of cooperation with the commissars that preserved the church's independence and helped pave the way for the development of the Solidarity trade-union federation.

MIDDLE EAST

Begin's Brash Blitz

Israel extends its law to the Golan Heights

The move was organized with all the boldness, secrecy and speed of an Israeli commando raid—and it had the same kind of impact. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, still recovering from a three-week-old hip fracture, suddenly emerged from his hospital bed early last week to appear in a wheelchair in the Knesset. There he brusquely announced that his government would make into law what Israel has long accomplished in fact: the takeover of the strategic Golan Heights, 444 sq. mi. of rocky terrain captured from Syria during the Six-Day War of 1967. Said Begin: "We are talking about our very lives and our future, and the welfare of this nation."

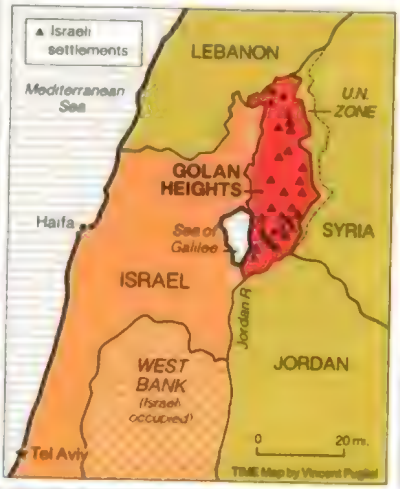
After more than six hours of raucous debate, Begin got what he wanted. By a 63-to-21 vote, the Knesset agreed to extend "the law, jurisdiction and administration of the state" to the heights area, which has been treated for 14 years by Israel as occupied foreign territory under military rule. Israel's move fell short of outright annexation, but only in the narrowest legal sense.

Begin's initiative prompted immediate criticism from astonished governments abroad. French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson declared himself "dumbfounded" and charged that the move violated the 1907 Hague Convention that demands respect for local law in occupied territories—an implicit affirmation that sovereignty cannot be transferred in such cases "except in the event of insurmountable difficulties." In his strongest foreign policy statement to date, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak called the move "a blow to the peace efforts" in the Middle East.

Perhaps the angriest reaction came from Israel's main ally, the U.S. At week's end, the State Department declared that in retribution it was suspending the U.S.-Israeli agreement on strategic cooperation signed in Washington just three weeks previously. Technical talks scheduled for January to spell out practical details of the agreement will not take place. Israel's unilateral action, Washington charged, was contrary to United Nations Resolution 242—calling for Israel to return captured territory in exchange for peace and secure and recognized borders—"on which the Camp David accords and all Middle East peace negotiations have been based."

Wheelchair-bound, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin votes in favor of Golan Heights law

Begin, however, had anticipated the American reaction in his pugnacious Knesset speech: "We consciously decided not to ask [the U.S.], since we had no doubt that our American friends would tell us no, and with all due respect, we could not take this no into account."



The immediate effect of Begin's action was to throw new sparks at the Middle East powder keg. So far as the Syrian government was concerned, Begin's action added a permanent dimension to the humiliation of losing the heights in the first place. Syria responded by declaring that Israel's move amounted to an "act of war." As if to give real meaning to that charge, Begin sent additional Israeli tanks rumbling into the heights area, which is separated from the Syrians by a neutral zone occupied by a 1,250-man United Nations peace-keeping force.

In just one day, Begin had rammed through a legislative measure that normally would have required at least three days of deliberation. He had opportunistically decided to use events in Poland, which preoccupied Washington, as a cloak for his action, in much the same way that in 1956 the Hungarian crisis offered Israel a convenient distraction when it joined Britain and France in an attempt to seize the Suez Canal. Indeed, Begin's legislative blitzkrieg came less than a day after Secretary of State Alexander Haig had been forced to cancel a seven-nation tour that included a brief visit to Tel Aviv, in order to attend to the Polish crisis.

The difference with Suez was that in 1956 the U.S., which had not been con-

sulted, brought pressure to bear on the aggressors to give up their territorial spoils. This time around, it looked as if nothing similar could be achieved. The U.S. joined in a unanimous U.N. Security Council resolution that declared the Israeli action to be "null and void" and demanded that Begin's government rescind its legislation. The resolution was not expected to have any effect, but the Council will take up the matter again no later than Jan. 5, at which time a Syrian push for more definite sanctions is likely. Most observers feel that the U.S. is unlikely to support such specific measures.

There is no denying the strategic importance of the Golan Heights to Israel or, for that matter, to Syria *(see map)*. Rising to 7,297 ft. above sea level, the heights overlook the fertile Galilee Valley, one of the country's principal breadbaskets. On the Syrian side, they merge into a level plateau—ideal tank country—that stretches 50 miles to Damascus. In 1967 the Syrians used the heights to rain fire on the Israelis at the onset of the Six-Day War. Since Jerusalem's military occupation of the heights, some 6,000 Israelis in 31 settlements have joined the 13,000 Arabs still living there.

Israeli extremists have argued for years that the heights should be annexed. A bill to do so was initiated more than a year ago by firebrand Knesset Member Geula Cohen. But in December 1980, Begin's Cabinet voted 15 to 2 against promoting the measure for fear of adverse world reaction. After the Prime Minister's cliffhanging election victory of last June, however, the Cabinet's mood began to change in a hawkish direction. Golan annexation had been one of the planks in Begin's election campaign, and, to fashion his two-seat majority in the 120-seat Knesset, Begin included in his coalition right-wing and religious nationalist elements that could be expected to lobby strongly for such action. Begin was finally provoked, or so he told the Knesset, by external factors. One was Begin's feeling that U.S. Special Envoy Philip Habib had failed to make further progress in defusing the seven-month armed stalemate between Israel and Syria over the presence of Syrian SA-6 missiles in eastern Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. Another was the failure of last month's Arab League summit in Fez, Morocco, at which Syria led the hard-line attack on the eight-point Middle East peace plan proposed by Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Fahd.

Begin claimed to quote closed-door remarks made at the meeting by Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam, who urged his brother Arabs to "wait 100 years or more, until Israel is weakened" and then destroy the country completely. Israeli action was intended to make Syria think differently. Said a Begin aide: "Begin thought that we must convince the Syrians that time was not necessarily on their side."

The Israeli Prime Minister apparently pondered all those factors two weeks ago, as he lay in an eighth-floor ward of Jerusalem's Hadassah Hospital. On Dec. 10, he secretly ordered Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir to prepare the Golan Heights legislation. When word came that Haig would visit Israel, any notion of presenting the bill was temporarily shelved. But when Haig suddenly canceled, the opportunity once again loomed.

The night before his Knesset appearance, according to a close aide, Begin hardly slept. In the small hours he telephoned Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and asked him to come to the hospital at 8 a.m. Half an hour before that meeting, Begin also called Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, asking him to attend. "Has something happened?" Sharon asked. Said Begin: "No, but something is going to happen today."

The trio hastily agreed that a parliamentary coup was possible. One tactical advantage they saw was that Opposition Leader Shimon Peres and his predecessor as Labor Party leader, Yitzhak Rabin, were both out of the country. Begin decided to leave the hospital and called a full Cabinet meeting at his home at noon. As a precaution, however, he decided to disarm potential opponents by summoning a seven-member mini-Cabinet, composed of the heads of his coalition parties, to meet 90 minutes earlier. When the full Cabinet finally assembled, all members—with the exception of Energy Minister Yitzhak Berman—supported Begin.

Haig learned of Begin's thunderbolt on his way home from Europe and angrily ordered the State Department to issue a protest. Back in Washington, he made the message doubly clear by calling Israeli Ambassador Ephraim Evron on the carpet for an hour and a quarter and declaring that he considered the action a personal betrayal. Even more vocal was Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, who on ABC's *Good Morning America* said the move was "provocative and destabilizing and must be changed." On the other hand, President Reagan seemed to downplay the action at a Thursday press conference, where he merely "deplored" the Israeli move.

In Western Europe, governments also seemed to be striving in their reaction for a balance between outrage and moderation. Though France's Cheysson declared that the Golan Heights legislation "cannot be justified on either juridical or political grounds," he added that the move would not affect French participation in the multilateral peace-keeping force that will oversee the Sinai Peninsula after Israel returns the remainder of that territory to Egypt in April 1982. The same attitude was taken by Cheysson's British counterpart, Lord Carrington.

The impending return of the Sinai also weighed heavily on Egypt's Mubarak. Government-controlled newspapers in Cairo excoriated Begin's action. But, as most analysts see it, Mubarak's fledgling regime could not survive a failure to regain the Sinai. Thus, Egyptian and Israeli negotiating teams will resume their talks on Jan. 10 concerning the second phase of the Camp David agreement, involving the basis of autonomy for Palestinian residents of the occupied West Bank and Gaza. Mubarak still intends to go ahead with a planned visit to Israel next February.

Clearly, Begin's gambit was as shrewd in its timing as it was reckless in its conception. None of the Arab nations, including Syria, is in a position to threaten Israel militarily. Nor did any country that supports Israel wish to do anything that might forestall the return of the Sinai, the most visible sign that life still remains in the Camp David process. But in tightening Israel's grip on the Golan Heights, the unpredictable Begin had once again flouted world opinion and undermined the already slim chances for a lasting peace in the Middle East. —*By George Russell. Reported by David Aikman/Jerusalem and William Stewart/Beirut*

Spirit of the revolution: Gaddafi amid the Tripoli high rises

LIBYA

Heeling to Brother Gaddafi

A revolution guided by the Green Book, sweetened with oil

Only days after President Reagan called upon all U.S. citizens to leave Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's Libya, the first of some 1,500 Americans expected to depart by the end of next month were dutifully queuing up at the Tripoli International Airport for the flight home. Despite well-publicized U.S. reports that Gaddafi had dispatched hit men to assassinate Reagan, few believed that they were in any real danger of Libyan retaliation. For the occasion, Gaddafi eased usually tight restrictions on journalists to invite members of the foreign press to hear him, presumably, denounce Washington's claims. TIME *Correspondent Jonathan Beaty flew to Tripoli for a firsthand look at the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (state of the masses), as the nation has been renamed. His report:*

The press conference, or rather the non-conference, was vintage Gaddafi. After two days of waiting, anxious revolutionary committeemen herded the press out of our hotels for a breathtaking, Libyan-style drive through the narrow streets of Tripoli. Lights blinking and horns blaring, the wild caravan raced to a walled compound where soldiers wielding submachine guns waved us through a gate flanked by two Russian T-72 tanks. For the fifth time since my arrival I was thoroughly searched. Inside the handsome government offices with beautifully crafted wooden Arabic arches, television crews set up their equipment on priceless rugs. Then a top Gaddafi aide, sporting a natty pinstripe suit under immaculate Arab robes, announced that the interview had been canceled. The presumed reason: the media-wise Gaddafi, who appeared briefly, wearing a European-cut suit with a British overcoat flung over his shoulders, realized that the crisis in Poland had pushed him off the front pages and evening news broadcasts in Europe and America.

It is difficult for Westerners to grasp the extent to which Gaddafi is the sole spirit and voice of a revolution that in twelve years has transformed this North African desert wasteland. In 1969, armed with Islamic zeal and a near fanatical belief that he was the heir to Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser's pan-Arabic nationalism, Gaddafi and eleven other young officers deposed the conservative King Idris in a bloodless coup. Gaddafi has since established iron political control of his countrymen, largely by spreading Libya's abundant oil wealth among them. Says Fouad Zlitni, a true believer: "The people decide everything, but it is the thoughts of Brother Gaddafi which guide us on to the proper path."

Young Libyans hold aloft image of Gaddafi

"His thoughts guide us to the proper path."

Those thoughts are enshrined in the Green Book, a three-volume work of revolutionary philosophy penned by Gaddafi. Cryptic excerpts are plastered all over Tripoli. "Representation is a falsification of democracy . . . In need, freedom is latent . . . The party system aborts democracy." In the airport, the traveler is inundated with illuminated signs in Arabic and English that read: NO DEMOCRACY WITHOUT POPULAR CONGRESS. Portraits of Gaddafi are everywhere, in private homes, musty old hotels, on billboards in service stations. Pointedly, there are also anti-American posters depicting Libyans shoving a spear through the head of a bleeding pig clothed in Uncle Sam's red-white-and-blue suit, with doves soaring aloft carrying little Green Books.

Tripoli is a city of crude buildings constructed of flawed, hand-poured cement. The balconies of many newly built, 20-story "people's" apartment buildings are draped with laundry hanging out to dry. TV antennas bristle from small, walled houses and buildings. Dusty new automobiles line roads where they have been abandoned after they ceased functioning. In a country with an estimated population of 3 million, some 500,000 of whom are foreign workers in search of the Libyan El Dorado, there are few signs of civil control or even of traffic lights. The evidence of inefficiency is staggering. Ships in the port of Tripoli wait to off-load their cargo at crumbling concrete piers. Acres of new tractors near the harbor await unscheduled delivery to unknown recipients. Last month, say Libyans, it was Land Rovers; before that, Japanese cars lined up for miles.

Near the green domes and lush gardens of Tripoli's People's Palace, the seat of Gaddafi's power, whole streets of ancient shops are boarded up. The centuries-old *suq*, or bazaar, was closed this year when Gaddafi banned all private enterprise. Consumer goods, from Japanese TVs and stereo systems to gourmet food, are now available in massive state-owned supermarkets.

Theoretically, Libya is ruled from the bottom up by a bewildering array of people's committees, which formulate policy on such issues as agriculture, health and housing. Final governing responsibility resides with the General People's Congress. But in 1977, stunned by popular apathy, Gaddafi cultivated "revolutionary committees" to oversee the confused network of assemblies and lead them "to the right way." In effect, the revolutionary committees are Gaddafi's ideological

Coming Home

There's a light in the window
beckoning us and our children home for Christmas.
The light says welcome; the light says love.
On this Christmas day there will be more lights and more love.

. . .

As on that first Christmas, in the morning of the world,
that ancient star in the sky still carries the same message:
Come home...come home,

Christmas is Forever

BARRON HILTON *Barron Hilton*

shock troops. Dressed in expensive Western clothes, well educated and often affecting Gaddafi's short, modified Afro hair style, they can intimidate both wavering citizens and official functionaries with a glance, with good reason: they are apparently enforcers of a strict Islamic code that outlaws adultery, homosexuality, alcohol consumption or "scheming" against the state. Such crimes are punishable by imprisonment—and worse. According to Amnesty International, large numbers of prisoners have been held without trial and tortured in Libyan jails.

Little of this seems to faze the 68 Mobil Oil employees who lined up last week at Tripoli's Airport for the compulsory trip back to the U.S. Snapped one Mobil engineer: "I don't know whether I'm being protected from Gaddafi or the Sixth Fleet!" The reference was to the U.S. Mediterranean naval force. Indeed, some of the Americans in Libya and foreign diplomatic personnel alike were sharply skeptical of the Reagan Administration's fears that Gaddafi might hold Americans hostage in the event of worsening relations between Libya and the U.S.

Most feel Gaddafi is unwilling to risk losing access to U.S. technology and assistance—or to court international condemnation—by taking hostages. Says one Western diplomat: "The situation here is different from what it was in Iran. The Libyans are a more docile people. Not one rock is going to be thrown unless Gaddafi says so."

The consensus here is that the American pullout will be a minor irritant to Gaddafi, who will be able to find ample technicians and workers in Europe and elsewhere to replace the departing Yanks. Old Libya hands are equally certain that Gaddafi will go to extreme lengths to avoid allowing Soviet technicians to come in and help with the oil production. Indeed, Gaddafi seems careful to keep the 3,000 to 5,000 Soviet advisers now in Libya isolated in outlying military posts. The representative of TASS news agency in Tripoli complained openly last week about the Soviet inability to persuade Gaddafi to allow them to open a military base.

But it would be a mistake to believe that this suggests a softening in Gaddafi's view of the U.S. A senior Libyan official close to Gaddafi was willing to concede that reported assassinations of Libyan nationals in Europe last year were indeed sanctioned by the revolutionary committees and condoned by Gaddafi, as U.S. and Western intelligence sources have guessed. He also strenuously emphasized that the U.S. would be considered an enemy as long as it supports Israel. Libya steadfastly opposes both the existence of Israel and the U.S. role in making Israel "the American instrument in the region." He added: "If America comes to this country, we will fight, even if all Libyans have to die." It is a chilling thought, but curiously in harmony with the strange and chilling ways of Muammar Gaddafi. ■

POLLS

War and Angst

European views on morality

The French are the most adulterous. The Danes, the most tolerant. The Italians—what other nation produces as many sobbing tenors?—are the most melancholy. And the British, perhaps because their green and pleasant land has not been the battlefield the Continent has been in living memory, are the most willing to go to war for Queen and country.

Suppositions from abroad, perhaps? Stereotypes laid on the French, Danes, Italians and British by their neighbors? Not at all. These turn out to be national self-appraisals in a sweeping poll taken last spring in ten countries by a multinational group of social scientists banded together in Amsterdam as the European Value Systems Study Group.

Frequent surveys in the past have measured material gains and quality of life; only two weeks ago, in fact, the latest such British study indicated that fully 96% of Britons can now scrub in either a bathtub or a shower, and 55% have central heating (that supposed bane of British life). But never before have the abstract social and moral values of Europeans been measured as they were by the E.V.S.S.G.

Complete results of the survey, in which as many as 1,200 people in each country sat for an identical 150-question interview, will not be released until next year. But among preliminary findings recently leaked in London are some of these national traits:

THE BRITISH: In addition to being patriotic, Britons also appear to be truly a happy breed. Of those surveyed, 95% insist that they are "quite happy" or "very happy." But there also seem to be contradictions in the way the British see themselves. They take more pride in their work (79%) than do those of the other countries, which seems strange in a nation renowned for bellicose trade unions, work stoppages, strikes and generally poor industrial relations. The British watch more television (20 hours a week) than anyone else (the Danes and Dutch read more newspapers). But they also prove to be the most concerned about good sexual relations in marriage, an ideal not always easy to achieve with the telly blaring.

THE FRENCH: Call it Gallic cynicism, perhaps, but the French, in addition to being most adulterous, insist that they are also the most dissatisfied and the least proud of their work. They are the least God-fearing, except for the Danes. Along with the Germans, they take the greatest interest in politics. And while far less eager than the British to march off to war, they are far more apt to march off to strikes, demonstrations and even revolutions.

THE GERMANS: Teutonic angst, presumably, makes the Germans the gloomiest about their health. They worry about job security and promotion and are least proud of their nationality. Additionally, West Germans indicate that they are the most intolerant toward extremists on the right and left, foreign workers, cult religions and even heavy drinkers.

THE SPANISH: Possibly because they spent so much time on the right under Francisco Franco, Spaniards now position themselves on the political left. More than other Europeans, they consider wages the most important aspect of working. And more than the others, too, they believe in God, hell and the devil.

The Spaniards, along with the French, Italians and Germans, put the church at the head of the list when asked to indicate degrees of confidence in ten institutions, including parliaments, civil service, trade unions and the press. The British, however, put most confidence in the police, with the church a distant fourth. When respondents were asked to weigh their concern about the Ten Commandments, the Italians considered themselves most respectful toward seven of the ten. But it is the British who show the most concern about the remaining three: adultery, coveting one's neighbor's wife and coveting his goods. ■

People

Moore and Moore hustling a tree through the Waldorf in *Six Weeks*

A bunch of chilled Britons were warming their mittens at the Cross Hands Hotel last week.

The winds from the sky whipped the snowdrifts up high, a blizzard was raging at peak

*When out of the white came a startling sight—***Queen Elizabeth** *with a retinue of six.*

At Gatcombe Park, she had seen **Anne** *and* **Mark,** *and now found herself in a fix:*

While motoring home, she'd been trapped by the storm, and needed shelter and tea

Well, the proud innkeep asked the Queen to upcreep a stairway that no one could see,

When dinner was served, she ate unobserved, then again wafted downways by stair

The move was so facile that as she sped to her castle, precious few even knew she'd been there!

■

Getting a six-foot Christmas tree through the lobby of the Waldorf-Astoria and up to your suite is no mean trick. But for such a scene in *Six Weeks*, due out next Christmas, it seems that the more Moores, the merrier. In the film, **Dudley Moore,** 46, and **Mary Tyler Moore,** 43, conduct an extended holiday affair and during their stay in New York decide to install an evergreen in their room. Says Dudley of this eccentric behavior: "I like a character who has the best possible time in the most urgent way."

■

Jane Byrne smiling. Jane Byrne not smiling. Chicagoans have seen both faces of their controversial mayor, but never at the same time. In its December issue, however, *Chicago* magazine gave newsstand browsers a chance to weigh both her grin and her grimace. The magazine's 250,000 copies were split between the two faces of Jane, and news dealers gave each cover equal rack space. The results? In the city center (home of high taxes and declining services), the frown won out, 5 to 4. Ah, but in the grassy suburbs (home of better schools and less violence), the grin took it in a breeze, 3 to 1.

Byrne and Byrne: *Chicago's* two faces of Jane

■

"We thought about wearing berets, but everyone threatened to boycott the wedding if we did." So says Guardian Angels National Director **Lisa Evers,** 28, who will marry Angels leader **Curtis Sliwa,** 26, on Christmas Eve in Manhattan. Sliwa founded the red-capped Angels, a volunteer crime-fighting citizens' patrol, back in 1979 in New York City. Since then the nonprofit movement has spread to 32 other cities. Evers and Sliwa grew close this spring after she organized an Angels chapter in Atlanta. Explains the rough-edged Sliwa: "I began acting more human in her presence."

Guardian Angels Sliwa and Evers before their Christmas Eve nuptials

■

Lisa Henson, 21, was a fast-talking freshman when she complained that the Harvard *Lampoon* was "the most sexist organization on campus."

Henson in her *Lampoon* lair

Hardly a sentiment to win her favor among the club's 45 members, almost all of them male. But over the past two years, the daughter of Muppet Creator **Jim Henson** clearly made a few "Poonie" friends. Last week she beat out all male rivals for the *Lampoon's* presidency, to become the first woman to achieve that position in the organization's 105-year history. The deciding factors, says a *Lampoon* staffer: "Consummate social skills and great legs." Says Lisa, who once worked as an errand girl for her father: "I expect my work here will be a lot more rewarding than carrying coffee around for the Muppets."

—By E. Graydon Carter

Still Stuck in the Slush

The new year will start in recession, but growth should pick up later

For millions of Americans it will be a bleak Christmas and a grim New Year, and not until many months into 1982 will people begin to see the first glimmerings of the supply-side economic prosperity that Ronald Reagan promised would be the hallmark of his Administration. Such was the sobering conclusion of TIME's Board of Economists last week as it met in New York to survey the year now ending and the economic outlook for the one soon to begin.

After eleven months in office, the President has reversed the trend toward steady increases in taxes and spending by the Federal Governmment and placed the U.S. on a path designed to lead the economy toward steady long-term growth. Yet, as the TIME economists made clear, the Administration at year's end finds itself increasingly entangled in a web of economic difficulties. Some of these are due to the recession that is now gathering force with alarming swiftness, but many are being caused, in effect, by the Administration's policy miscalculations and sheer wishful thinking. In either case, the result has been to limit Reagan's ability to push ahead with his program.

Having promised to boost defense spending, cut taxes, protect Social Security and balance the federal budget by 1984, the President now faces the increasing likelihood of winding up his last year in office with the biggest budget deficit in the nation's history. Both Republicans and Democrats on TIME's board agreed that to avoid such a fate and the economic repercussions of so large a deficit, the President has no choice but to begin rethinking, and soon, many of his past promises. Summed up Walter Heller, chief economic adviser to President John Kennedy: "The Administration is now down to what the White House itself admits are 'some fairly unpleasant alternatives.' "

Normally, periods of economic contraction call for stimulative measures such as cuts in taxes or increases in Government spending to get business going again. But the looming federal deficit is forcing the Administration to begin thinking instead of tax increases and further budget cuts. Said Alice Rivlin, director of the Congressional Budget Office and a guest at last week's meeting: "The lead time on both tax and spending changes is necessarily very long for the Congress, so any serious effort to solve the fiscal 1983 and 1984 deficit problems would have to start right away. But to do that in the middle of a recession that is not yet showing any signs of getting better is a very serious problem."

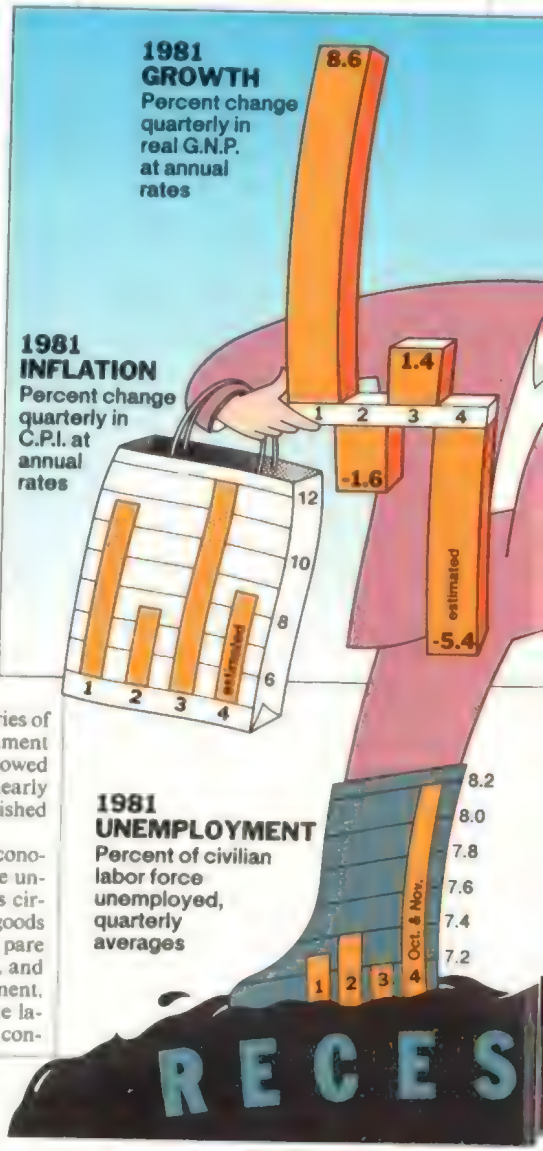
The immediate difficulty is the business slump itself, and signs of the worsening economy continue to multiply. Already suffering through one of its worst years in decades, the auto industry last week received still more bad news. New figures showed that sales by the Big Three automakers during the first ten days of December were nearly 28% lower than year-earlier levels, which were already extraordinarily depressed. On an average day early this month, fewer than 14,000 cars were sold throughout the U.S., the slowest pace since 1959, when the U.S. population was 177 million, compared with more than 226 million today.

Far more alarming, TIME's board stressed that the developing downturn is no longer confined largely to housing and autos, but has now spilled over into so-called feeder industries like steel, machine tools, building supplies and, through them, into the national economy as a whole. Figures released last week by the Federal Reserve Board showed that industrial production dropped by 2.1% in November, the fourth monthly decline in a row. That was the largest one-month slump since May of 1980, and was a clear signal that worse difficulties are still to come. Meanwhile, the Fed also reported that the nation's factories operated at a mere 74.9% of capacity during the month, a decline of 2 percentage points from the October level and of 4.4 percentage points from the rate of one year ago.

One of the developments most worrisome to TIME's board concerned the steadily swelling inventories of unsold goods. Commerce Department data released during the week showed business stockpiles increasing by nearly 1% during October, while sales of finished goods fell by 2.3%.

Bulging inventories frighten economists because the stockpiles have the unavoidable effect of creating a vicious circle of economic decline. As unsold goods build up, businessmen are forced to pare back production and lay off workers, and this in turn drives up unemployment, which currently stands at 8.4% of the labor force. As jobless lines lengthen, consumer spending shrinks, and this in turn causes inventories of unsold goods to grow even more. Said Alan Greenspan of the Townsend-Greenspan economic consulting firm: "Involuntary inventory accumulation by business will be an absolutely critical piece of evidence in gauging the severity of the recession in 1982. The more rapidly that inventories grow now, the steeper will be the plunge, but the sooner the slide will be over."

TIME's board proved uncharacteristically wary of predicting precisely just how steep or long-lasting the recession will eventually turn out to be. From the crisis



in Poland to the future course of interest rates, the weeks and months ahead are a minefield of uncertainties. Any one of several factors could play havoc with even the most carefully devised economic forecast.

Nonetheless, the consensus outlook shows the economy continuing to decline into early next year, and then picking up at about mid-year. Preliminary Government figures released last week showed business declining at a steep annual rate of 5.4% in the fourth quarter. TIME's board predicted that the pace of the slump will slow to 2.2% during the first three months of 1982. Then, by the second quarter of the year, the plunge should have leveled off, with no more than about 0.2% of decline in G.N.P. In the second half of the year, the economy is expected to snap back and grow at an average annual rate of 4.4%.

Board Member Greenspan warned, however, that the developing downturn could prove to be deeper and longer than expected if capital outlays by business begin to shrivel in the months ahead. So far, most spending plans by businessmen on new plants and equipment have not been shelved or scrapped, and companies are generally pushing ahead with investment programs. Yet Greenspan feared that any dramatic new shock to the economy, such as an unexpected bankruptcy of a major European bank, triggered by a Polish default on its loans, could easily lead to widespread cancellations of business spending plans. But Robert Triffin, an international monetary expert, doubted that if Poland renounced its foreign debts, such action would lead to a collapse in banking around the world.

The unemployment picture next year looks grim. In most economic downturns, joblessness continues to grow even after the economy starts to recover, and TIME's board sees the pattern being repeated once again in 1982. By year's end, the board expects unemployment to stand at 8.3% of the labor force after peaking at 9% during the second quarter of 1982. Such a jobless rate would match that of the 1973-75 slump as the worst in the postwar era.

The bright spot in the forecast was the board's encouraging outlook for inflation. From a peacetime record annual rate of 18.2% in the first quarter of 1980, the level of consumer price rise has slowed fairly steadily in recent months. The board expects that inflation for 1981 as a whole will be 9.6%. During the first half of next year, the pace of price increases will continue dropping, perhaps to a low of 6.8%, but in the second half of 1982, when the economy starts to pick up speed, the rate of inflation may also go up. The board projects that consumer prices will be growing at a 7.5% rate by the end of next year. If that projection for next year turns out to be correct, it would mean that 1982 will have the lowest annual rate of inflation since 1977.

The great unknown hanging over the economy next year is the level of interest rates. The skyrocketing cost of money this year took the steam out of the economy and caused the recession. The business downturn is now reducing the cost of money, but the question is whether rates will start climbing back to their past heights when economic activity picks up after the middle of the year. Says Alan Greenspan: "The real economic issue is where does the second half of next year go, and the second half goes where interest rates go."

Most board members believed that interest levels are not likely to fall much further. Currently, the prime commercial lending rate that banks charge their most credit-worthy customers stands at 15.75%. The board forecasts that it will still be a high 13.75% in mid-1982. After that, TIME's economists expect rates to begin inching up, reaching at least 14.5% by the beginning of 1983. Anything much higher than that would have a very damaging effect on next year's projected economic rebound.

The level of interest rates will depend, in part, on the size of the federal deficit. Since he assumed office in January, Reagan has seen the combined effects of a slumping economy and towering interest rates wreck his Administration's deficit forecasts. As the economy weakened and unemployment rose, tax receipts fell off, while outlays for such things as welfare and unemployment benefits climbed. Meanwhile, high interest rates ballooned the carrying cost of the federal deficit, with the result that interest charges alone now account for 10% of the budget.

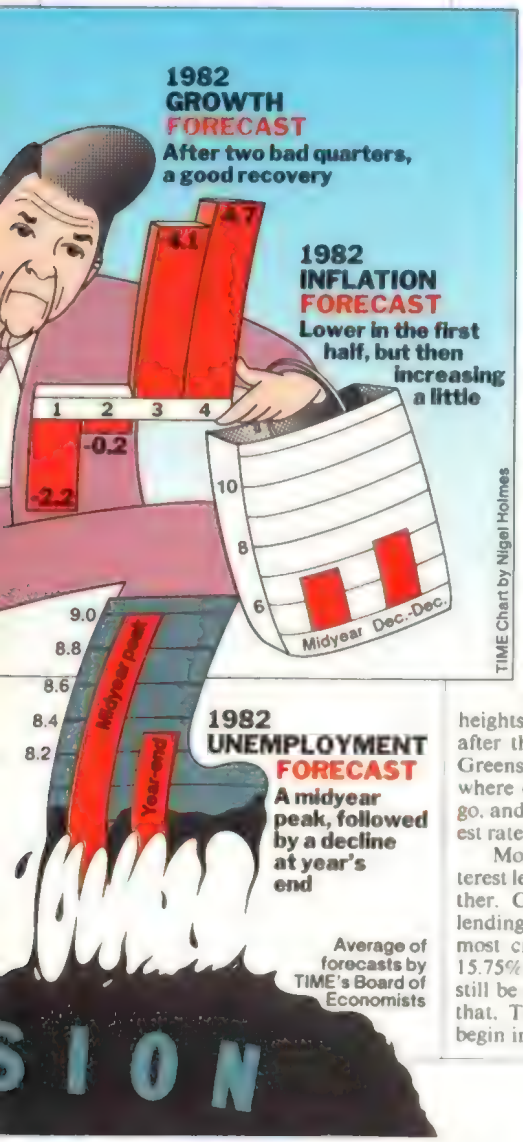
Though the Administration predicted in September that its fiscal 1982 budget would contain a deficit of just $43.1 billion, the Congressional Budget Office said during the same month that the red ink would more probably total at least $65 billion or perhaps even higher. More recently, the Office of Management and Budget has conceded that the deficit for the year could top $109 billion.

The biggest budget problems, though, are still to come. During 1982, the President's phased 25% three-year income tax cut package will cost the Treasury upwards of $27 billion in lost revenue. At the same time, the Administration's defense spending buildup will boost the Pentagon's fiscal 1981 outlays by 27%, to $200 billion, further swelling Government expenditures. By fiscal 1984, OMB projections put the deficit at a towering $162 billion, and rising.

Regaining control over the budget now looms as the most difficult challenge facing the Administration. Rightly or wrongly, large deficits have come to be viewed by Americans as fiscally irresponsible. Reagan and other Republicans for years have ceaselessly hammered home the message that deficits are the key cause of inflation, even though many of them are now saying that they do not really matter all that much.

Now the liberals are also warning about the size of deficits. One critic was Board Member Joseph Pechman, director of economic studies for the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. He said that a failure by Reagan to submit a January budget message containing a convincing and credible program for paring back the deficits for both fiscal 1983 and 1984 would rekindle inflationary expectations all over again and send interest rates leaping anew. Said he: "If the Administration doesn't get ahold of the budget or puts out numbers that everybody can easily put holes in, I think that we are in for quite a bit of trouble. Interest rates will remain high and will abort the recovery."

Board conservatives like Martin Feldstein, a Harvard professor of economics and president of the National Bureau of Economic Research, continued to emphasize that the most fruitful way to close



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the budget gap is to keep cutting to reduce spending. Said he: "I am continually struck by the fact that in 1960 only 9% of the nation's gross national product was spent by the Government on nondefense items, while by 1980 the figure had climbed to 17%. Just cutting back to the 1970 share, or 13%, would save roughly $160 billion in 1984."

On the other hand, Alice Rivlin argued that there simply is not all that much left in the federal budget to cut unless the President begins to look at previously untouchable spending programs. Said she: "To balance the fiscal 1984 budget, you would have to reduce Government spending from 23% of G.N.P. to 19%. If you leave out defense spending, interest on the debt and entitlement programs such as Social Security and Civil Service retirement, you wind up having to cut everything else in the budget by more than 75%. That would mean practically closing down the Government." Added Charles Schultze, chief economic adviser to Jimmy Carter: "If you refuse to look at entitlements, defense or new taxes, you have a real problem."

Instead of relying almost exclusively on spending cuts, Heller, Pechman and Schultze all proposed lists of revenue raising measures designed to shrink the 1984 deficit sharply. Each urged the Administration to postpone the third stage of the Reagan tax-cut package, which is scheduled to reduce federal income taxes by another 10% when it takes effect in July 1983. This, they said, would automatically reduce the fiscal 1984 deficit by approximately $30 billion. Such action was ruled out by Reagan at his press conference last week when he stressed that he intended to stand by his income tax package as enacted.

The idea of postponing the income tax cut brought demurrals from several more conservative board members. Energy Economist James McKie of the University of Texas protested, only half in jest, that as a lifelong member of the middle class he had been counting heavily on the tax cut as being the first such action in years to benefit him directly. Now, said McKie, he supposed he had been right in suspecting all along that it was too good to be true and that something would transpire to snatch away the benefit before he could enjoy it.

The board's Democrats also urged the Administration to adopt some additional revenue-raising measures. Pechman argued, for example, that doubling the federal excise tax on alcohol, gasoline and tobacco would bring in another $13 billion, and that enacting a windfall tax on decontrolled natural gas could result in anywhere from $10 billion to $20 billion more Government revenue.

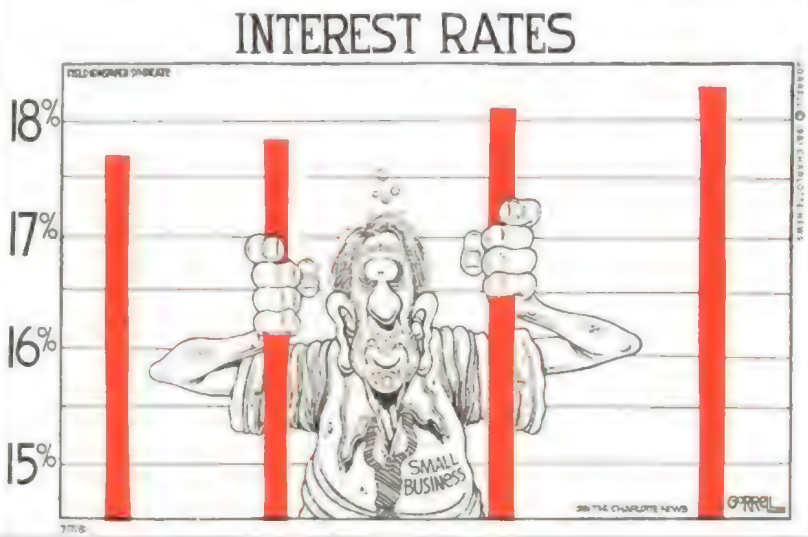
In addition, Pechman offered a laundry list of tax reforms that he urged the Administration to make in order to raise the badly needed money. He argued that perhaps $6 billion could be collected simply by eliminating the deductibility of interest on consumer loans, and $3 billion to $4 billion by removing the tax-exempt status now granted to interest payments received by holders of state and local industrial development and revenue bonds. Unlike tax-exempt municipal bonds, which are usually issued to finance such projects as sewer systems and schools, industrial revenue bonds are often sold to help private developers finance urban redevelopment projects and sometimes even suburban shopping malls.

Such measures would be difficult to get through Congress during a recession, but some changes are essential to get the budget back in rein. Rivlin said that although Congress was exhausted by this year's efforts to cut spending, there is now a firm recognition that action is necessary. Said she: "A sufficient portion of the Congress realizes that the budget crunch is very serious and that several drastic things will have to be done, both on the tax side and on the spending side."

In late January or early February, Reagan will present to Congress his budget for the 1983 fiscal year. In preparing those spending proposals, the President will have to face some difficult, but inescapable, choices. It is going to be impossible for the Administration to keep its old campaign promises of increasing defense spending, reducing taxes and protecting entitlement programs, without running up dangerous and damaging deficits. Some compromises between past rhetoric and present reality are inevitable.

If the President does not sharply reduce the size of the budget deficits either by delaying the income tax cut, raising other taxes or sharply cutting federal spending, interest rates next year are likely to jump back to the levels that caused this year's recession. The result would then be another year of little or no economic growth. But if the federal budget can be brought under control, there is the prospect of a sound business expansion next year. The recovery of the American economy during the second half of 1982, and beyond, will largely depend on the budget decisions that Reagan will soon take.

—By Christopher Byron



Reaganomics: Turbulent Takeoff

A supply-side test, a financial shake-up and merger mania

For economists and financiers, corporate chiefs and small-businessmen, high-rolling investors and penny-watching savers, 1981 has been a year of turbulence and profound change. A new Administration pushed through Congress a radical policy that abruptly discarded doctrines that have dominated economic thinking since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Americans dramatically changed the way they save their money. Corporations went on an unprecedented binge of billion-dollar mergers. And although business in general was anemic, dynamic young companies parlayed technological innovations into products that promise to improve the efficiency of offices, factories and homes.

As the year began, inflation was ripping along at a 13% clip, interest rates towered at 21½% and unemployment hovered at 7.4%. Clearly, the economy was fragile and heading for a fall, the depth of which is as yet unknown. On the night of Jan. 6, Joseph Granville, a flamboyant forecaster who predicts earthquakes and stock market turns with equal verve, sent some 3,000 clients the tense, terse message: "Sell everything. Market top has been reached." That warning triggered a two-day, 39-point plunge in the Dow Jones industrial average.

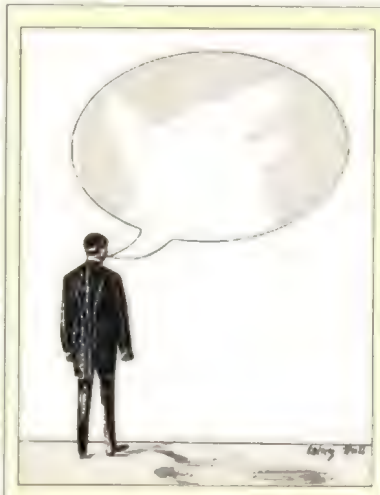
Two weeks later, Ronald Reagan and the supporters of the unorthodox theory of supply-side economics took office. The new President vowed to stimulate business by slashing taxes, even though some critics said that such a move at a time of high inflation would cause prices to spiral still faster. Reagan responded that he would curb inflation by cutting the U.S. budget, and urged the Federal Reserve Board to maintain tight control of the money supply. Moreover, the President asserted that when investors saw prices leveling off, they would lower the return they demanded for their money, and thus interest rates would plummet.

For several months the novelty and unabashed boldness of the Reagan plan worked like a miracle drug. Interest rates began to creep downward, and the Dow Jones industrial average hit an eight-year peak of 1,024 in April. But then moneymen began growing jittery as some of Wall Street's most influential economists, led by Henry Kaufman of Salomon Brothers and Albert Wojnilower of First Boston, warned that Reagan's goals of deep tax cuts, large increases in defense spending and a balanced budget were inconsistent and impossible to achieve. Nicknamed Dr. Doom and Dr. Gloom, Kaufman and Wojnilower foresaw bulging deficits and towering interest rates if Reaganomics were put into practice.

"I know it's a hell of a challenge, but ask yourselves: If not us, who? If not now, when?"

Ronald Reagan

Nonetheless, Congress gave the President what he wanted by passing during the summer the biggest budget and tax cuts in history. The sweeping $35 billion reduction in the 1982 budget was aimed at a broad range of federal programs. The tax bill included a 25% cut in personal levies over three years and much faster depreciation write-offs for business. Price tag: $280 billion in the next three years.



"Sell everything. Market top has been reached."

Joseph Granville

The reaction of the financial markets to the program was disastrous. Fearing huge budget deficits and more inflation, investors began stampeding to sell. Bond prices fell to record lows, and interest rates surged anew. By the time the Dow Jones average bottomed at 824 in September, blue-chip stocks had lost nearly 20% of their value in April.

On his first day back in the Oval Office after Labor Day, Reagan summoned his Cabinet members and told them to find new budget cuts. Said he: "I know it's a hell of a challenge, but ask yourselves: If not us, who? If not now, when?" Two weeks later, the President asked Congress to trim $13 billion more from federal spending in 1982. The markets, though, did not respond to the new program. Some business and political critics charged that Reagan had not cut deeply enough, especially in defense, which suffered only a symbolic $2 billion reduction in a $200 billion budget.

In the meantime, the Federal Reserve Board kept to its firm monetary stance, even though high interest rates had become a tightening noose around the economy. Chairman Paul Volcker pledged repeatedly to curb money and credit growth until inflation was tamed. Said he: "We will see it through."

That policy was devastating to the auto and housing industries, already depressed by two previous years of onerous interest rates. Car sales fell to their lowest level in 20 years. Housing starts hit a 15-year trough. The slump rippled through steel, rubber, lumber and many other industries dependent upon home building and automaking. Businesses, mostly small, were going bankrupt at a pace 42% faster than in 1980.

Already reeling from these blows, the credibility of Reaganomics was further shaken in November by a bombshell article in *Atlantic Monthly* magazine. The piece quoted one of the program's chief architects, Budget Director David Stockman, as saying that the Administration's plan had been hastily put together and that he had often suffered serious doubts about the strategy. Stockman called the President's across-the-board tax cut proposal a "Trojan horse" to induce Congress to greatly reduce steep levies on wealthy taxpayers. He mused that it was merely a repackaging of old-time Republican "trickle-down" economics.

Critics seized the opportunity to attack Stockman and Reaganomics. Said Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO: "Stockman was the original interior decorator of this economic house of ill repute . . . Now he has his story ready. He only played the piano in the parlor. He never knew what was going on upstairs."

Unsettled by the Stockman episode and alarmed by the deepening recession, Congress balked at big new spending cuts.

Illustrations for TIME by Cathy Hull

After Reagan vetoed a budget resolution and shut down numerous Government offices for a day, the lawmakers this month reluctantly trimmed an additional $4 billion from next year's spending.

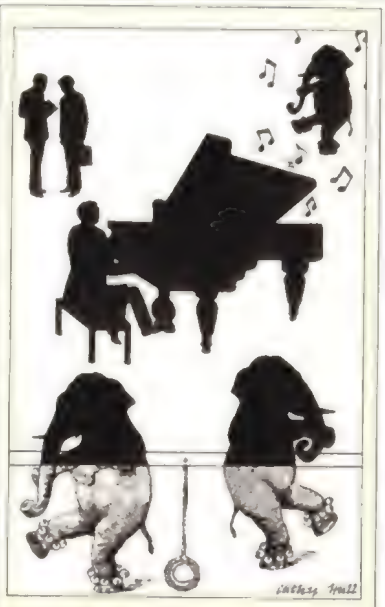
The economic news of 1981, however, was not all gloomy. Inflation cooled to an estimated 9.6% this year, from 12.4% in 1980. Part of the credit goes to the Federal Reserve, but luck also played a big role. Bumper harvests put downward pressure on food prices. A global oil glut brought the first relief from rising energy costs in almost three years. No longer totally in command of the market, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries decided to hold the base price of crude to $34 a bbl. through the end of 1982.

Wages make up some two-thirds of the price of a product, and the hard core of inflation will not be broken until salary demands begin to slow. But there are signs of some easing on the wage front. During the final quarter of the year, average hourly earnings have been rising at an annual rate of about 7.4%, against 10.5% in the same period of 1980. The United Auto Workers executive board has given its bargaining councils permission to renegotiate current contracts and grant wage concessions to the troubled car companies. Employee groups at several ailing airlines, including Braniff and Pan Am, have already agreed to a 10% pay slash.

The year's economic turmoil helped speed a historic shake-up of U.S. financial institutions. Attractive interest rates prompted millions of Americans to withdraw money from banks and savings and loan associations, where the return on passbook deposits is no more than 5½%. Many put their cash into money-market funds, which are operated primarily by brokerage houses and financial management firms, and offered interest as high as 17%. The assets of those funds more than doubled during 1981, to $186 billion. Says Walter Wriston, chairman of New York's Citibank: "Americans are not stupid. They have been seeking a better return on their money and getting it."

This shift in deposits, though, severely hit S and Ls and mutual savings banks, which have portfolios loaded with low-rate home mortgages. Most are losing money; some face imminent insolvency. During the year, more than 200 savings institutions, many of them failing, merged with competitors. Some savings executives say that unless Government regulators give them more freedom to issue other kinds of loans besides home mortgages, their industry's survival will be threatened.

The new competition for Americans' spare cash has inspired visions of giant financial supermarkets, where customers could make one stop for services ranging from savings accounts and stocks to insurance. This year several of the largest U.S. companies went further in that direction by moving to acquire investment firms. American Express snared Shearson Loeb Rhoades; Prudential Insurance purchased Bache; Sears reached a preliminary agreement to buy Dean Witter; BankAmerica plans to absorb Charles Schwab.



"Stockman was the interior decorator of this economic house of ill repute. Now he [says] he only played the piano in the parlor. He never knew what was going on upstairs."

Lane Kirkland

These financial marriages were only a small part of the record-breaking flurry of matchmaking that swept through U.S. business this year. American companies spent an estimated $80 billion to acquire some 2,200 other firms. The mergers linked familiar names in virtually every industry: Nabisco and Standard Brands, MGM and United Artists, Allied Stores and Garfinckel, Brooks Brothers.

Why such an urge to merge? The long stock market slump has made the shares in hundreds of American companies tantalizing bargains. In case after case, firms seeking growth have found it cheaper to buy other businesses than to build new factories or open new stores.

The most alluring targets have been firms rich in natural resources like oil and minerals. For nearly two months last summer, Seagram, Du Pont and Mobil fought for Conoco in the wildest corporate auction ever. Du Pont prevailed only after hiking its bid twice, to $7.5 billion, the largest merger price in history. Spurned by Conoco, Mobil then tried to take over Marathon Oil. But Marathon struck a sudden merger deal with U.S. Steel. Undaunted, Mobil announced that it would try to buy up to one-quarter of U.S. Steel.

Critics of the Administration charged that Attorney General William French Smith had given an implicit Government go-ahead for takeover attempts when he proclaimed last June that "bigness in business is not necessarily badness." Yet the Government later showed that it would oppose mergers reducing competition within an industry. It persuaded the G. Heileman Brewing Co. to drop a bid for Schlitz and filed a suit aimed at thwarting Mobil's quest for Marathon.

While scores of firms were swallowed up in 1981, hundreds more were born with the aid of venture capitalists, private investors willing to bankroll promising entrepreneurs. Fledgling firms this year received more than $1 billion in venture capital, up from $550 million three years ago. The seed money supported enterprises in microelectronics, genetic engineering, robotics and other innovative industries. Newer companies like Apple Computer, which makes the small desktop computers that are popping up in thousands of offices and homes, and Applicon, a leader in the new field of computer-aided design/computer-aided manufacturing, became established parts of the corporate landscape. The growth of these and many other firms during a general economic downturn showed the underlying vitality of American business.

Inflation has become deeply embedded in the American economy during the past 15 years, and the problem cannot be cured quickly or without some perhaps painful adjustments. But long-term growth and the creation of future jobs will be impossible without a return to price stability. Progress was made this year in the battle against inflation, yet final success will depend on continued effort by Government, business and workers to control prices. —*By Charles Alexander*

"Americans are not stupid. They are seeking a better return on their money and getting it."

Walter Wriston

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Music

Boulez *Ex Machina*

The composer turns to computers for a major new work

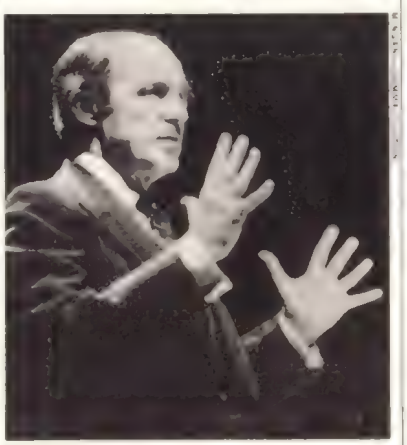
If there is one international musical figure who can truly be described as protean, it is Pierre Boulez. The former *enfant terrible* of French composers, who combines a brilliant mathematical mind with an expert musical ear, Boulez has been the chief theoretician of the postwar serialist movement. During his tenure as music director of the New York Philharmonic from 1971 to 1977, he introduced audiences to unfamiliar repertory by familiar composers like Liszt, and startled them with lucid, penetrating readings of standards like Debussy's *La Mer*. Under his baton the orchestra reached a level of technical precision that it had lacked for years under his predecessor, Leonard Bernstein. From 1976 to 1980, Boulez presided over the controversial Patrice Chéreau productions of Wagner's *Ring* cycle at Bayreuth—an incisive interpretation of the mythological saga, which can now be heard, in digital sound, on Philips Records (16 discs; $150).

For much of the past decade, though, Boulez, 56, has been absorbed in his work as director of IRCAM—the *Institut de Recherche et de Coordination Acoustique/Musique*. The institute, part of the Pompidou arts center in Paris, is devoted to research and collaboration between scientists and musicians. It is here, on the front lines of music's progressivist movement, that Boulez for the first time in his career has turned to modern computer technology to produce his newest work *Répons* (response).

As performed under Boulez's direction last week, it is the most impressive piece yet to emerge from the hitherto uneasy marriage of music and technology. A formidable technical achievement, it is also a work that makes a direct appeal to the emotions, the sign of a masterpiece in any era.

Répons is scored for three groups, arranged in a large rectangle. An instrumental ensemble of 24 musicians sits on a raised platform in the center, facing the conductor. Stationed symmetrically around the room are six soloists, also on platforms, playing two pianos, electric organ, harp, cimbalom, vibraphone and xylophone, with each instrument wired for sound. A half-dozen technicians operate a bank of machines on ground level behind the conductor. The most important is the advanced 4X computer developed at IRCAM that can alter and transform live musical sounds with a speed that allows it to function as effectively as a new instrument itself. The performance—the French premiere—took place in suburban Bobigny in an auditorium resembling a gymnasium, because no hall could be found in Paris to suit the nonproscenium requirements of the piece.

The 18-minute work falls into easily understandable sections, each based on the classic principle of tension and release. The first section is for the instrumental ensemble only, unaided by electronics. The tension is created by rapid, repeated-note figurations and massed sonorities. The release, such as it is, comes from a series of eerie tremolos and trills reminiscent of the doom-laden flute flutterings in Strauss's opera *Salome*. The soloists enter with a computer-assisted arpeggio, vibrating and echoing over the six large loudspeakers that are stationed around the hall. Then the soloists and the ensemble interact, responding to each other in the manner of Renaissance polyphony.



Pierre Boulez leading *Répons* in France
A fine marriage of music and technology.

As the piece develops, a *furioso* section for the ensemble is followed by electronic responses from the soloists until the entire orchestra begins to fragment, a violin jutting out here, a trombone blasting there. *Répons* gradually increases in rhythmic complexity as held notes in the brass arch over the busily insistent sound beneath. The impression is of the turning of a gigantic wheel in space. The piece ends quietly on a stationary but disquieted chord; rest is achieved at last, but not peace.

And this is only Part 1. Commissioned by the Southwest German Radio and premiered in October at Germany's Donaueschingen festival, *Répons* will soon acquire a second half from Boulez. No matter how that turns out, it is already clearly a major work by a composer who is still boldly extending music's horizons. —**By Michael Walsh**

Education

Two Centuries of Elitism

Phi Beta Kappa still flourishes amid changing standards

It all began over a cool brew in a warm tavern. Young gentlemen at the College of William and Mary in revolutionary Virginia drew up plans for a society of good fellowship and spirited debate. (Sample topic: "Whether Polygamy is a dictate of Nature or not.") They devised a secret handshake and an initiation rite. The group, in fact, might have ended up as just one more fraternity but for a sober motto—and philosophy—based on the Greek letters ΦBK : "love of wisdom the guide of life." The Virginia chapter collapsed after only five years, in 1781, but not before it had sent an emissary north to Yale and Harvard. This month in Cambridge, Mass., the Alpha chapter at Harvard, which, more than any other has helped shape Phi Beta Kappa into the national honor society it became, celebrates its 200th anniversary.

The key itself

There is much to celebrate. Less than ten years ago, on many college campuses, ΦBK was regarded as odiously "elitist." At Cornell in 1973, half of those invited to join turned down the offer. At Duke University in 1968, the student newspaper balked at printing the list of new members. Today everybody is eager to join, partly because undergraduates again think the distinctive gold ΦBK key may help unlock the door to worldly success. Harvard's chapter, which boasts such notable alumni as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Henry Adams, is flourishing. And when, as part of the bicentennial festivities, it recently sponsored a panel discussion on "Literacy and the Search for a Livable Future" at Harvard's cavernous Sanders Theater, there was no shortage of academic talent on hand. Significantly, though, Harvard Dean Henry Rosovsky and other panelists had trouble deciding what kind of "literacy" they meant: Should it be the traditional "literacy of expression"? Or what Professor Carl Kaysen of M.I.T. described as "scientific literacy," to be attained through less Latin and more physics and calculus?

Since it became a full-fledged honor society in the mid-1800s, ΦBK's commitment to academic excellence has not wavered. Higher education in America is changing. Today the selection of an elite appears to be no easy task. Colleges differ markedly in quality. There are about 2,000 four-year institutions in the U.S. The national ΦBK office in Washington, D.C., has 20 file drawers full of applications for new chapters. But it now limits membership to 228 colleges and universities and will not grant any new chapters without personal visits to assess the quality of faculty, library, and honors programs. Individual chapters have been advised to require candidates to demonstrate knowledge of foreign languages and math as part of a strong liberal arts background. That has meant that Georgia Tech, because it mainly trains engineers, has never had a chapter. ΦBK guidelines also indicate that new members rank in the top tenth of their class, a standard that made Bryn Mawr refuse a chapter on grounds that all Bryn Mawr women are academically elite. The grade inflation that began in the late '60s has made it difficult to distinguish the brilliant from the merely bright. Many college chapters, including Harvard's, now examine the records of candidates to be sure their good grades were not garnered in too many "gut" courses.

There are 375,000 key holders in the U.S. Among them is a generous sprinkling of leaders in government and business, as well as a lion's share of professors. For new job seekers, the benefits of carrying a key are hard to assess. "Quite frankly, sometimes it's a hindrance," says John Delgrosso, an administrator at New York University. "People are seen as overqualified, and other people feel threatened by that." Most corporations hire out of graduate school and judge applicants accordingly. But a spokesman at a New York brokerage firm admits: "A key is something we'd look at twice."

The founder, John Heath

Whatever the value, the attitude today is "If you've got it, don't flaunt it." A key is rarely sported on a vest chain or dangled haughtily over a décolletage. Says Delgrosso: "You see it at law school and medical school interviews. After that it goes back in the drawer." All perfectly fitting, suggests Harvard's John Finley, Eliot Professor of Greek Literature Emeritus. The key is not for success, he says. "It is for vision, the quest for understanding." ■

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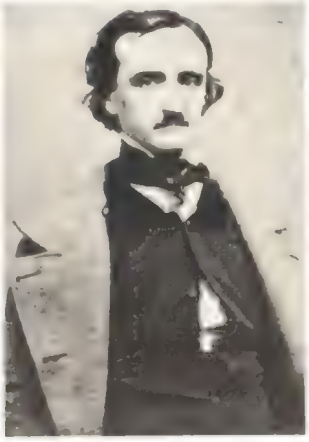

Edgar Allan Poe

Mark Twain

Books

High Diddle-Diddling

THE CONFIDENCE MAN IN AMERICAN LITERATURE
by Gary Lindberg; Oxford; 319 pages; $19.95

Con artists are familiar figures in American literature, though they are usually directed through culture's back door. Their calling card was written by a 19th century popular comic character named Simon Suggs: "It is good to be shifty in a new country." Gary Lindberg's elaborate study *The Confidence Man in American Literature*, uses Suggs and his cronies as models to examine the national character. The task requires the assistance of that old critical handyman, ambivalence.

It is not news that public condemnation of the con man is mixed with private admiration for his sting. More than 50 years ago, V.L. Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought* noted that the sharpster appealed to the hidden desires of an otherwise hard-working, pious people. Lindberg considers the ambivalent attitude to be not hypocrisy but rather a theoretical expression of American genius. A con man may impoverish widows and orphans, but he cannot do so without first creating confidence. And confidence, says the author, who is a professor of English at the University of New Hampshire, is what America is all about.

The reader is plunged into a make belief, not a make-believe world. Herman Melville's novel *The Confidence-Man* was an early and largely forgotten guide. More studied than read, the book conjured up a group of impostors, gamblers, land agents and divines on an 1850s Mississippi riverboat. The only one to suffer loss of innocence on the trip was the reader, who had been exposed to a masquerade of identities and motivations. He was left with a befuddling sense of life as it is lived but rarely understood.

The magician uses sleights of hand to create his fiction; the writer uses sleights of mind. Edgar Allan Poe, whose stories and poems have put generations of readers into a gothic trance, took time out to satirize the tricks of the literary trade. His *Eureka* uses metaphysical doubletalk to "explain" philosophy. The patter creates credibility, leading Poe to conclude elsewhere that "pleased at comprehending, we often are so excited as to take it for granted that we assent." In "Diddling Considered as One of the Exact Sciences," he offers the ingredients of a good con: "Minuteness, interest, perseverance, ingenuity, audacity, *nonchalance*, originality, impertinence, and *grin*."

Excerpt

"As [the King and the Duke] vie to establish fictive identities and the manners that should support their roles, they provide a parody of rights and privileges in a democracy, which are gained neither by birth nor strictly by merit but by effective persuasion and show. We never do know who they are. They hint at the underside of the self-made man and self-reliance, the freedom to become whatever others will believe. As they prey on others, they illustrate not what energy and diligence but what spunk and audacity will do in a protean society. The jack of all trades becomes the shape-shifting diddler, a reminder of how many occupations can be made to turn on the evasion of work. The cultural promise that one can make a self by shrewdness and diligence has, then, in the world of *Huckleberry Finn*, soured into a battle of con artists."

Many a used car and intellectual lemon have been sold with his formula. Lindberg does not label Poe a confidence man but a "New World technician." Yet tech man and con man are related by method. Writes Lindberg: "When the New World technician reduces complex process to duplicable parts, he provides the model by which the con man reduces another's gestures to imitable steps and dissects habits of belief so as to manipulate them."

The procedure amounts to an elaborate game. One of the great players was Benjamin Franklin, whom Lindberg hails as America's classic "do-it-yourself Self." Popular history tells a rags-to-riches tale that parallels the birth of the nation. History is not incorrect, though Franklin's *Autobiography* and his how-to text *The Way to Wealth* reveal a great practitioner of situation ethics. His affable description of "one of the first errata of my life" cannot disguise that he employed a highhanded scheme to break his legal obligation to complete an apprenticeship at his brother's print shop in Boston.

Lindberg's self-made men, boosters, gadgeteers, jacks of all trades and "shape shifters" share a love of the game that often exceeds their lust for profits. Even such desperate survivors as the King and the Duke in *Huckleberry Finn* threw themselves wholeheartedly into their roles. Their shenanigans tended to cloud the fact that Huck relished his own duplicities, and nearly everyone in the book was tricking someone else.

With the publication of P.T. Barnum's autobiography in 1855, says Lindberg, the con man in America went public. The rush to grab land, swindle immigrants and kite stock gathered mo-

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mentum. As a great showman, Barnum hoodwinked the suckers and made them like it. Who could hate a man able to move crowds by changing the exit sign to one that read, "This way to the Grand Egress." His book ratified cynicism as entertainment, if not instruction.

Lindberg still detects the trend in society and fiction. Packaging is frequently given more attention than the product: politicians unashamedly talk about their image and how to sell it. In movies and books, notes the author, "con men now not only appear in a zany mix of styles, but they simultaneously carry on criminal activities and redemptive ones." In short, we no longer clearly distinguish between the good confidence man and the bad one.

Lindberg is a good con man. Contemporary literary critics can be lifeless and dutifully impenetrable. As Saul Bellow's Von Humboldt Fleisher put it in *Humboldt's Gift*, "Their business is to reduce masterpieces to discourse." Lindberg takes care of more business than most readers may care to handle. But his new readings of old books demonstrate how ingeniously some of our best writers juggled the subject of high ideals and low practices. It is an act that requires more than grace under pressure. In Lindberg's felicitous and confident phrase, it takes "poise in ambivalence." —*By R.Z. Sheppard*

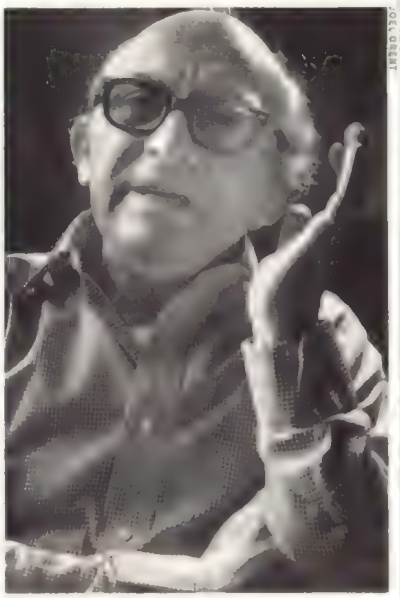
Witness

THE AGE OF WONDERS
by Aharon Appelfeld
Translated by Dalya Bilu
Godine; 270 pages; $12.95

A boy named Bruno and his mother board a train to return home from a summer holiday. They are evidently well-to-do; their accommodations are first class and their fellow passengers fashionable. One incident mars the trip. The train stops unexpectedly, and the non-Christians aboard are politely asked to get off and show their papers to a local official. Bruno and his mother are among those who obey. Once this is done, the journey resumes. The setting is Austria in the late 1930s.

In his second novel to be translated into English, Israeli Author Aharon Appelfeld, 49, portrays the arrival of the great evil that became the Holocaust as a series of incremental tremors. Anti-Semitism first manifests itself as that petty annoyance on the train, "bureaucracy gone mad" as one passenger reassures another. Then Bruno's elaborate twelfth birthday party is sobered by the arrival of an actress-relative who has been fired by the National Theater because she is Jewish. The shy young guest of honor watches the adults argue over whether there is truly cause for worry: "Words I did not understand flew through the air like flaming torches." His childhood ending, Bruno becomes witness to the unimaginable.

The strongest impressions are made by his father, a famous Austrian writer and intellectual whose once lofty reputation inexorably declines, mirroring the growing dangers to all Jews in the country. A series of articles in a provincial paper attack his novels, calling his characters "parasites living off the healthy Austrian tradition, not their own marrow." Bruno remembers: "We couldn't even argue that the articles were written by an anti-Semite. The critic, as his name showed, was a Jew." The maligned author grows ever more frantic and tries to become more Austrian than his growing band of tormentors: "Jewish entrepreneurs should be wiped off the face of the earth, they ruin everything they touch! . . . I hate the Jewish petite bourgeoisie."


JOEL ROBERT

Aharon Appelfeld
Portraying evil as a series of tremors.

Eventually, he abandons his wife and son and flees to Vienna. Inevitably, Bruno and his mother take another train trip, deported with the other Jews in their town and packed into a cattle car heading south.

This first section of *The Age of Wonders* is a stunning novella, an elegiac distillation of incomprehension and loss. But Appelfeld then brings Bruno back, some 25 years later, to the same Austrian town. There has been a revival of interest in his father's writings, and the son is invited from Israel to assist in the arrangements for the new edition. This shorter episode raises questions that are not answered, including the fate of Bruno's parents and the means by which he escaped his own destiny on the cattle train. Also, the understandable passivity that Bruno displayed as a young boy has remained; a presumably heroic survivor, he now dawdles aimlessly in bars and coffee shops, trying to grasp a past that his earlier narrative has already captured and preserved.

This anticlimactic coda is a letdown but also a tribute to the power of what has gone before. Old friends change into persecutors and victims; a vain, talented man is pushed into a corner of self-hatred; some people slip comfortably into betrayals while others sacrifice themselves. No explanations of such behavior will satisfy, no accounting of the Holocaust will contain its enormity. Appelfeld offers something else. His prose never thunders or moralizes. It speaks in a lucid neutrality of tone that allows both the admirable and the monstrous to show themselves as they are and, as they sometimes do in life, to mingle. —*By Paul Gray*

Living Fossils

THE MAKING OF MANKIND
by Richard E. Leakey
Dutton; 256 pages; $24.95

Anthropologist Richard Leakey opens his *tour d'horizon* by describing some of his own finds, including the famed skull 1470 that revealed *Homo habilis*, the first true man, to be more than 2 million years old. Always giving credit where it is due, Leakey goes on to describe the earlier findings in South Africa of Raymond Dart and Robert Broom, who unearthed human ancestors more than 3 million years old, as well as to discuss Don Johanson's dramatic discovery of Lucy, the famous four-foot-tall Ethiopian who walked upright at least 3 million years ago. The find, Leakey notes, confirms that man's ancestors walked erect long before they began to develop the big brains that set them apart from more primal primates.

Fossils, Leakey makes clear, are essential to any understanding of man's origins. But, he maintains, bones are not enough: "The search for our origins consists of far more than simply identifying the characters in the play: we need to know what they did, when they arrived on the stage, and when and why they departed."

To learn some of these matters, Leakey and his colleagues have recently concentrated on such living fossils as the tribesmen of the Kalahari, who live much as man's earliest ancestors did, foraging for vegetables, sharing meat when they hunt successfully, carrying their culture in their heads. His conclusion is refreshingly optimistic: there is no proof in the hunter-gatherers of the Kalahari that man is an inherently violent "killer ape." The modern urge to mass violence appears to be acquired, not inherited.

Lavishly illustrated and lucidly written, *The Making of Mankind* convincingly explains what we know about our origins and firmly rebuts the so-called scientific creationists, who believe that evolution should be regarded merely as a theory. *The Making of Mankind* offers the best proof to date "that species *do* change and *have* changed as a result of evolution . . . a fact as incontrovertible as gravity." —*By Peter Stoler*

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Whorehouse Goes Hollywood

Burt and Universal leave some good ole boys behind in the dust

Got a postal card last week from some folks I know out in Hollywood, California. Seems they went there to make a motion picture and wound up gettin' their grits fried by a Florida boy name of Burt Reynolds and that lil ole big ole gal from Tennessee Dolly Parton. Leastways, that's how they tell it. I figger it another way: If you plan to go to Hollywood, you better be ready to Go Hollywood. But you decide for yer own self.

It all started with this whorehouse over by La Grange—lil town, sleepy as a ole hound in the August sun, 'bout halfway 'tween Austin and Houston. The place was listed in the tax books as Edna's Ranch Boarding House, but everybody called it the Chicken Ranch. Well sir, for sump'n like 80 years the Chicken Ranch was a place a man could call home whenever he needed to get outta his own house. Cowboys, cotton pickers, state senators, the Texas A & M football team, your more adventurous visiting clergy—they all come to Edna's place, and damn if she didn't make 'em feel right welcome. The girls were plenny good-lookin' and didn't misbehave unless you paid 'em extra. And if *you* misbehaved, there was old T.J. Flournoy—the town's lean, mean sheriff—to set you straight or th'ow you out. Why, 'most everybody in La Grange thought Edna's was a real community asset. Put that town on the map.

Then this re-former, name of Marvin Zindler—a real pain in the hind cheeks—he started a crusade to close down the Chicken Ranch. And you know, he did.

Parton as queen of the Chicken Ranch

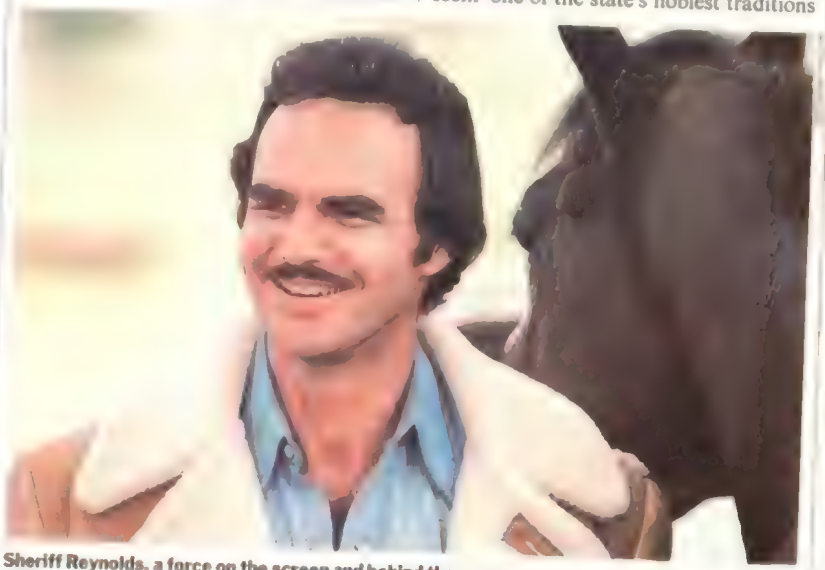
So the girls lit out for towns a little more hospitable to the good life—Austin, Galveston, Tijuana. But that wasn't the end of the best little whorehouse in Texas. No, sir. It was jes' the beginnin'.

In 1974 *Playboy* magazine—and course they know all 'bout bein' clean and dirty at the same time—they ran a story on Edna's Ranch by a fat, bearded journalist called Larry L. King. Larry's a good ole Texas boy, and he was none too happy seein' one of the state's noblest traditions tore down, like they'd turned the Alamo into a soccer stadium. So he visited La Grange and wrote it all up. Called it "The Best Little Whorehouse in Texas."

Then, 'fore you knowed it, some other Texas boys and girls took Larry's story and made it into a genuine Broadway show. They had singin' and jokin' and jes' enough carryin' on to keep the folks comin' in and the vice squad out. They had bad ole Marvin Zindler high-steppin' through his favorite den of iniquity like a virgin bride navigatin' a field of cow chips. They had Sheriff T.J.—they called him Ed Earl—and Miss Edna—they called her Mona—lookin' longingly at each other from th' opposite sides of middle age. Best of all, they had a county fair's worth of good dancin'. Cheerleaders shook their pompoms, Aggies stomped around the locker room, Edna's girls sashayed up and down the big staircase, and the Governor did what politicians do best: tap dance. That show opened in 1978, and they tell me it's still goin' strong.

The folks that put up the money for this show was Universal Pictures, out in Hollywood. Pretty soon, they determined to make a movie outta *The Best Little Whorehouse in Texas*—and from here on, this story gets slipp'rier than a pig in warm spit. Universal hired ole Larry and Director Peter Masterson, and Tommy Tune, who got all the boys and girls to dance so good. Now, none of them'd did anything like this in a movie before, but they figgered they knew what kinda movie this show should be. Larry says he wanted Rip Torn and Jill Clayburgh to play Ed Earl and Mona. But Stevie Phillips, she'd produced the show, she wanted your major motion-picture stars. So, she says, "I camped out on the doorsteps of Burt Reynolds and Dolly Parton." Now you can't get much more major than that: Smokey and the Bombshell. And would you believe it, she got 'em.

They got a sayin' out there in Hollywood: Big stars mean a big movie. With Burt and Dolly in it, this lil ole bitty pissant country show growed bigger than Bob Lilly. And what with the moneymen at Universal reelin' from outsize flops like *1941* and *Xanadu*, they wasn't in no mind to turn 20, 25 million dollars over to people who might not know their klieg light from their keester. Larry and Tommy and Peter was out of the picture before you knowed it. Before *they* knowed it, anyway. The way Peter tells it, "'My wife read about our firing in a gossip column.' Larry got the news watching Miss Rona Barrett. "Everybody had been saying my rewrites were the best things since the Bible," he says. "Then suddenly we were fired. If Burt wants to make *Smokey and the Bandit Goes to the Whorehouse*, he will. Whatever he wants, he gets. We exchanged a couple of ugly letters. He invited me to California to fight.



Sheriff Reynolds, a force on the screen and behind the scenes

"The chemistry between us is special: one and one makes three."

We acted like seventh-grade bullies."

Burt sounds like the happiest kid in the schoolyard. He's happy to talk about Dolly: "Everyone wants to see us together. The chemistry between us is special: one and one makes three. We both have the naive feeling that if you love people, they'll love you back." Universal is lovin' Burt and Dolly to the tune of 'bout a million an' a half each, plus a share of the profits. To get them, Universal hired Colin Higgins—who come from out near Australia, Lord a'mighty—to rewrite Larry's script and direct the thing. With Burt and Dolly onboard, there had to be a few changes. Like, ten of Carol Hall's songs from the show went back in her trunk, and Dolly wrote four of her own. Then, says Higgins, "I reduced their ages, and shot Burt's and Dolly's personalities into the characters." Higgins directed Dolly in her first movie, *Nine to Five*, where she played a sexy secretary. In that one, I hear, Dolly didn't know you shoot scenes from a movie one at a time and in funny order, so she came to the set with the whole script memorized.

This time Dolly's actin' like a happy pro—though things were rough at the start, what with all those changes. "In the beginning there was a lot of blood on the project" is how she tells it. Now it's all greasepaint. "Since I was 14 I've worn enough makeup to sink the *Mayflower*," she says. "Here I wear six wigs, 17 different costumes. The whole thing is sexy fun. I make a better whore than a secretary anyway. And Burt, he's so wonderful and I love him so good." One day Dolly and Burt were shootin' a number called *I Will Always Love You*, and Burt's parents came in to see it. After the take, Dolly jumped up and shouted to them, "I'm kissin' your boy and I ain't gonna stop just 'cause you're here!"

Ever' time Dolly walks onto the set in some wild new outfit, the boys in the crew start howlin' like prairie wolves. Dolly, though, she takes it in stride. In the movie she looks down at her front porch and says, "I can't balance these things, let alone get up on my toes. If I fell down, they'd have to milk me to get me up." As for her own overripe body, Dolly repeats Joan Rivers' joke about her "Orson Welles designer jeans" and shrugs and smiles and says, "My fat never made me no less money."

But what about the folks that started the whole thing? "A year ago I was sick about it," says Peter Masterson. "Now I think it was the best deal I ever made. They paid me to direct it and then I didn't have to." And Stevie Phillips, she says, "It's a brainchild I didn't want to see changed. Now it has adoptive parents."

Well, folks, that's about it. The big new *Best Little Whorehouse* will appear in picture houses next summer. That's when Larry and you and me'll see whether the folks at Universal did what they set out to do: make chicken salad out of the Chicken Ranch. —*By Richard Corliss. Reported by Martha Smilgis/Los Angeles*

Theater

Bancroft as stricken violinist

Excess Emoting

DUET FOR ONE
by Tom Kempinski

Music may be a universal language, but theater is not. Any British play receiving a U.S. production can find not only its accent but its meaning changed. In its transatlantic crossing, *Duet for One* has been all but torpedoed out of the water. The unguided missiles of its destruction are a miscast director and star.

Tom Kempinski's play is a melancholy *partita*—two characters, six scenes—about a brilliant violinist struck down in her prime by multiple sclerosis, and the psychiatrist who tries to help her. The plot may seem a tasteless gloss on the career-ending disease of Cellist Jacqueline du Pré. But in its London version, there were no easy answers—no answers at all—for this driven young woman. As played by Frances de la Tour, she was a figure of shy, rueful dignity who achieved heroism by confronting her despair.

If De la Tour's tone was deep, soft, mournful, Anne Bancroft's is a fierce wail. She slips into the upper register of emoting—angry shrugs, haughty profiles, spat-out defiance—and stays there. The result is that Bancroft has nowhere to go when, at the end of each act, she needs to escalate into the play's most demanding scenes. Surely her approach is the one Director William Friedkin wanted; his work in films (*The French Connection, The Exorcist*) is notable for its harrowing power, not its subtlety. This leaves Max von Sydow, as the doctor, to prowl the set like a lion tamer confronting an unpredictable new beast. He need not worry. Bancroft's lioness isn't hungry enough to eat him. She has already devoured Kempinski's lamb of a play. —*R.C.*

11 Celsius

TOMFOOLERY
Music and Lyrics by Tom Lehrer

"Get in line in that processional. Step into that small confessional. There the guy who's got religion'll/ Tell you if your sin's original." There was a time (circa 1955) when *The Vatican Rag* caused *frissons* and merriment all around the campus circuit. Songwriter Tom Lehrer was a Harvard math professor who could do numbers on anything from sex to the Bomb. But satire is a parasitical art, no stronger than its host. Folk singers, the military, Freud and faith, all have been familiar targets for over a generation. Today *Tomfoolery*, a chrestomathy of 28 Lehrer hits, seems about as audacious as a glass of eggnog.

Yet eggnog is not without its spice or season. Lehrer's best lyrics are feats of compression; works like *Masochism Tango* ("You can raise welts like nobody else") or *When You Are Old and Gray* ("Say you'll love and trust me/ For I know you'll disgust me") have retained their piquancy. Surprisingly, it is Lehrer's melodies that show the fewest wrinkles, switching from exuberant marches to minor ballads with a fluency that went unnoticed in his postgraduate period. Gary Pearle and Mary Kyte's galvanic direction aids the songs when it whispers and distorts them when it shouts. Sans extraneous props, the quartet of soloists, MacIntyre Dixon, Joy Franz, Jonathan Hadary and Donald Corren, embody the *Lampoon* spirit of *Tomfoolery* and if at times they breathe too hard, it is not their age but the material's. Tom Lehrer "admits to 53, but prefers to think of it as 11 Celsius." So do we all. —*By Stefan Kanfer*

Corren and Hadary, top; Dixon and Franz

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For Sale: Gripping Life Stories

An attorney helps docudrama subjects make TV deals

Seven years after he vanished while walking home from school in Merced, Calif., Steven Stayner, 14, suddenly reappeared. He told police that he had been held in a remote cabin by Kenneth Parnell for what amounted to half his lifetime.* The youngster was joyously reunited with his family, but as soon as his return was reported, a second trauma began. Within days, more than two dozen people called or turned up at the Stayner home, checks in hand, to buy rights to his unique story. Bewildered, the family turned to their attorney. He was unfamiliar with the new problems they faced, but he was able to recommend just the sort of protector they wanted. No fast-talking, hard-driving angle bender, their choice instead was a lawyer who started practicing only five years ago and who acknowledges, "I'm middle-aged, somewhat overweight and a Jewish mother."

Renée Wayne Golden, 51, may seem an odd selection. A former jazz bass player and housewife, she decided to become a lawyer after four years as a legal secretary. In this age of specialization, she has quickly fashioned her own little niche: representing people whose tales provide the raw material for TV and movie docudramas. Such stranger-than-fiction stories are in hot Hollywood demand at the moment, and Golden has become the little guy's negotiatrix nonpareil. So far she has represented ten clients and has turned away many more. This week CBS will air one of her projects, *The Ordeal of Bill Carney*, a two-hour movie about a quadriplegic who made legal history in 1979 when the California Supreme Court ruled that his handicap did not disqualify him from having custody of two young sons. Carney became Golden's first "real life rights" client. The attorney who won the custody case had served with Golden on the board of the Western Law Center for the Handicapped and knew that she practiced entertainment law. So when producers began approaching Carney, Golden was called in. Like many in the same situation, Carney had no idea what his story was worth. "I would have sold it for $10," he admits. Others imagine there are millions to be made. In fact, the going rate for story rights is roughly $30,000, about 2% of a television movie's budget. Her clients, Golden boasts, have never received less than $50,000, plus a share of the profits.

BERNSTEIN—GAMMA/LIAISON

Renée Golden checking a videotape: the little guy's negotiatrix nonpareil

"She has a good sense of reality and wants both sides to be happy."

But getting top dollar is only one Golden goal. She also puts a priority on assuring that her clients will be satisfied with the way they are portrayed. One key is finding a reputable producer. Golden persuaded Client Sonia Johnson, who was expelled from the Mormon Church in 1979 because of her outspoken support of the Equal Rights Amendment, to pick Norman Lear, an ardent ERA backer. Says Golden: "It wouldn't have mattered if he had offered only one half the money that anyone else did."

Golden seeks other protections as well. No studio will agree to let a subject have final say over the script, but in the Stayners' case, for example, she got them the power to approve the selection of the writer. She also negotiated a ban on the use of any material not furnished by the family unless its truth is otherwise established. The publicly known events in a story are generally public property. So a producer who pays for "real-life" rights is taking out insurance against being sued and is buying the chance to portray the private lives of the people involved. He is also usually trying to buy exclusivity. So the Stayners have agreed not to grant interviews until the time comes to promote the film. Explains Golden: "We don't want to dilute what the producers have bought for good money."

Richard Shaffran, the attorney for the production company that bought Carney's story, says of Golden: "She has a good sense of reality and wants both sides to be happy in the end." For her services, Golden generally charges 10% of her client's take, plus expenses. Even after a contract has been negotiated, she continues to check up. During the making of the Carney movie, she read each version of the script and was on the set almost every day. "It's like a custom-made garment," she says. "It's their life story and the only one they have." ■

*Parnell is now on trial and claims that the statute of limitations has expired on the charge of kidnaping Steven in 1972. Parnell also argues that because the boy had many chances to leave him during the later years, there was no ongoing kidnap.

Working Prisons

New factories with fences

For years Chief Justice Warren Burger has been pleading for prison programs that would help turn the myth of rehabilitation into reality. In a speech last week at the University of Nebraska in Lincoln, he offered his latest vision of tomorrow's prisons: "Factories with fences around them." Inmates would turn out an array of goods for "reasonable compensation"; a fair amount would be deducted for room and board and the released workers eventually would take their places as more productive members of society. His plan, he said, has special urgency because the nation is expected to spend up to $10 billion on new institutions over the next decade. Asked the dismayed chief: "Are we going to build more warehouses?"

Prison industry dates back at least 150 years to the days when New York's Sing Sing claimed to be self-sufficient by virtue of its blacksmithing and other activities. But labor and business opposed these programs as unfair competition, and most of them were eliminated. Only recently have they begun to make a limited comeback, and those prisons that do offer jobs have too few available and generally pay less than $1 per hour. Undeterred by those difficulties, Burger said, "I cannot believe that this great country of ours—the most voracious consumer society in the world—could not absorb the production of even as many as 100,000 prisoners." ■

Smuggling News out of Poland

The flow of information slows to a trickle after the crackdown

Usually, when a crisis flares, the chief concern of news organizations is getting their reporters and cameramen on the scene. But when the crackdown came in Poland, the Western press faced a different problem. Scores of journalists, including two TIME correspondents, were already inside the country, but they could not get their dispatches out except by subterfuge. Said Los Angeles *Times* Managing Editor William Thomas: "We've never seen such a complete clampdown on all avenues of information." Added New York *Times* Foreign News Editor Robert Semple Jr.: "Even in Iran you could always find a telex somewhere. You at least had two-way communications."

Photographer Henri Bureau, right, talks to reporters in Paris after arriving from Warsaw

"They looked under seats with flashlights. Then they checked us one by one."

Editors lost direct contact with their correspondents last Monday, when the last telex lines were shut down. By that time, telephone communication had been cut off and journalists summoned to Warsaw for reaccreditation. They were told to stay within city limits and not take pictures on the streets.

But if Poland's generals hoped to seal off the country from the outside world, they underestimated the determination of Western journalists. Dispatches and film continued to trickle out of the country, smuggled by departing tourists, sympathetic Poles and the occasional journalist whose visa had expired. The risks were high. Automobile border checks were rigorous; outgoing rail passengers ran a gauntlet of Polish and East German interrogation and baggage checks. Film, camera equipment and video cassettes were confiscated. Anyone suspected of trying to leave with written reports or pictures was threatened with jail.

One of the first to make it through was Sygma Photographer Henri Bureau, 41, who was on assignment for TIME. He had photographed Solidarity's last meeting at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk just before martial law was imposed, then made his way back to Warsaw, taking pictures of troop movements through the window of his car. Leaving all his equipment behind, Bureau stuffed 30 rolls of film in his snow boots and rode an unheated train in subzero weather to Berlin with *L'Express* Correspondent Jacques Renard. Said Bureau: "The East Germans searched everything. They looked under seats with flashlights and brought in ladders to go over the overhead compartments. Then they checked us one by one." The Solidarity leaflets Renard was carrying were confiscated, but he and Bureau were not detained. After arriving in East Berlin, they promptly flew to Paris.

Other journalists successfully hid rolls of film in their pants, sewed video cassettes into the lining of coats, and photographed notes for easier concealment. Mark Phillips, 33, a London-based correspondent for the Canadian Broadcasting Corp., smuggled out a videotape containing reports from CBC, CBS, NBC and BBC in the third interior compartment of a zipper bag. At one point, he said, an East German guard was "one zip away" from the tape when Phillips distracted him.

But some newsmen were not so lucky. Bernard Grace, a reporter for NBC affiliate WTCN in Minneapolis–St. Paul, ill-advisedly took his cameras along when he tried to leave Poland with two weeks' worth of reporting on video cassettes. Said he: "When the East German guard saw my gear, I was taken off the train and led into a room where they went through my luggage, piece by piece. Then I was strip-searched." After eight hours of interrogation Grace was released, but his tapes were taken from him. A British reporter got desperate as his train approached the Czech border and stashed a video cassette in the nearest hiding place—which turned out to be an incinerator.

To supplement the sketchy reports coming out of the country, journalists rushed to points where travelers from Poland were disembarking: Vienna, West Berlin, Frankfurt, Munich and several cities on the Baltic coast. At the East station in Vienna, some 50 journalists gathered every day to meet the Chopin Express, "a rolling newspaper with a story in every seat," as ABC's Peter Jennings put it. Trouble was, most of the stories were second- and third-hand. Said Fritz Ullrich Fack, editor in chief of the prestigious *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung:* "You hear so many implausible things. I keep telling my staff that we must be cautious."

All Europe became a listening post. At the BBC monitoring service in Caversham, 40 miles west of London, teams of Polish BBC employees, assisted by a bristling array of antennas at a nearby receiving station, worked around the clock recording every word broadcast from inside Poland. The three American networks launched elaborate information-gathering operations at a total cost of about $1 million. CBS News set up a bureau in the Frankfurt-Sheraton, with private telephones, a telex, and even a microwave relay unit on the roof so that information could be beamed rapidly back to the U.S. But ABC, which had set up a courier system in case of an emergency in Poland, was first on the air with a report showing tanks and soldiers in Warsaw on Monday night, a full day ahead of the competition.

By week's end Western reporters in Warsaw found most of their usual sources spouting the government line, languishing in jail or lapsing into terrified silence. Without gas or rental cars, it was difficult to get around the capital, much less venture outside it. But at least one enterprising newsman, Bradley Graham of the Washington *Post,* did get through the government cordon and filed an eyewitness report from Gdansk, 170 miles to the northwest. Finally, on Friday, Polish military authorities reinstated one telex line. Reporters who wanted to use it, however, were required to submit their dispatches to a government censor and quote only official sources. "The joys of open coverage," said Mark Phillips of the CBC, "are over for a long time." —***By Janice Castro. Reported by D.L. Coutu/Bonn and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Warsaw***

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